

APPLICATION
OF
BARRUEL'S
MEMOIRS OF JACOBINISM,
TO THE
SECRET SOCIETIES
OF
IRELAND AND GREAT BRITAIN.
BY
THE TRANSLATOR OF THAT WORK.

Princes and Nations shall disappear from the face of the Earth . . . and
this REVOLUTION shall be the WORK OF SECRET SOCIETIES.

Weisaupt's Discourse for the Mysteries.

LONDON:

Sold by E. BOOKER, No. 56, *New Bond-street.*

1798.

PRICE ONE SHILLING AND SIXPENCE.

[Entered at Stationers Hall.]

ADVERTISEMENT.

AN Entire Edition of these Memoirs was sold before the Fourth Volume reached the press; and the great inconvenience attending the delivery of separate volumes induced the Translator to defer the publication of the second Edition, until the four Volumes were completed. They are now ready for delivery, and may be had of E. BOOKER, No. 56, New Bond-street, London—Price 1l. 8s.

The Author had only published his first Volume during the life-time of that valiant Combatant of French democracy, Mr. Burke; but the work, even in that early state, entitled the Author to that Gentleman's applause, as may be seen by the following letter:

" Sir,

" I cannot easily express to you how much I am instructed and delighted by the first Volume of your History of Jacobinism. The whole of the wonderful narrative is supported by documents and proofs with the most juridical regularity and exactness. Your reflexions and reasonings are interspersed with infinite judgement, and in their most proper places, for leading the sentiments of the reader, and preventing the force of plausible objections. The tendency of the whole is admirable in every point of view, political, religious, and, let me make use of the abused word, philosophical. So far as I can presume to judge of a French style, the language is of the first water. I long impatiently for the second Volume; but the great object of my wishes is, that the work should have a great circulation in France, if by any means it can be compassed; and for that end, I should be glad, upon the scale of a poor individual, to become a liberal subscriber.

" I am as yet in a miserable state of health; and if I advance at all, it is very slowly, and with many fallings back.—I forgot to say, that I have known myself, personally, five of your principal conspirators; and I can undertake to say from my own certain knowledge, that so far back as the year 1773, they were busy in the plot you have so well described, and in the manner, and on the principle you have so truly represented.—To this I can speak as a witness. I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

May 1, 1797.

(Signed)

" ED. BURKE."

The British Critic passed his judgement on the work when the three first Volumes were published, in the following terms:

" Certain we are, that no book has appeared since the commencement of our labours, which was more necessary to be read, and weighed attentively, by every person of any property, whether hereditary or commercial; every person holding any rank in society; and every person who has within him a spark of zeal, either for the honour of God, or the welfare of mankind." (March 1798, Page 293.)

PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS

On the Work entitled MEMOIRS, illustrating the History of Jacobinism.

THE Abbé Barruel has divided his Memoirs into three different conspiracies, naturally flowing from each other.

The first is, that of the *Sophisters of Impiety*, conspiring against their God, and impiously denoting their hatred of Christ, by swearing *to crush the wretch*; for thus they blasphemously style the Saviour of the World. He describes the divers means and arts employed by them in their ANTICHRISTIAN CONSPIRACY, step by step; and the Christian need not dwell on the proofs, when he is informed, that, in October, 1798, all places of Christian worship were abolished at Paris; and that capital was no longer subdivided into parishes, but into Wards, each having a *Temple* dedicated to PAGAN WORSHIP, as follows—*Ist. Ward*—The church of St. Philip du Roule *is now consecrated to Concord*.—*II.* The church of St. Roche *to Genius*.—*III.* St. Eustache *to Agriculture*.—*IV.* St. Germain-L'Auxerrois *to Gratitude*.—*V.* St. Laurence *to Old Age*.—*VI.* St. Nicolas-in-the-Fields *to HYMEN*.—*VII.* St. Merry *to Commerce*.—*VIII.* St. Margaret *to EQUALITY and LIBERTY*.—*IX.* St. Gervais *to Youth*.—*X.* St. Thomas of Aquinas *to Peace*.—*XI.* St. Sulpice *to Victory*.—*XII.* St. James-du-Haut-Pas *to Benevolence*;—St. Medard *to Labour*;—and St. Stephen-on-the-Mount *to filial Piety*.

A Christian will shudder at this recital; but when the Abbé, early in 1797, asserted, that the total subversion of Christianity was the object of the Sect, he was scarcely believed, and was set down as an enthusiast: he had, never-

theless, named the chiefs, Voltaire, D'Alembert, Frederic II. King of Prussia, and Diderot; he had described the means employed, and led us from haunt to haunt inhabited by the impious pretenders to philosophy, whether at courts or petty meetings of female adepts, where every one ranked in science according to the impiety or blasphemy of his discourse.

Those leaders that inhabited Paris assembled, under the direction of D'Alembert, at the hotel of a Baron D'Holbach; there did these men begin to conspire against Monarchy as they had conspired against Christianity; and from that club may be said to have issued the Sophisters of Impiety coalesced with those of Rebellion, forming the *Anti-monarchical Conspiracy*. *Le Roy*, the secretary of that society, repentant when he beheld the revolution, thus describes the club: "The following were our occupations; " the most of those works which have appeared for a long " time past against religion, morals, and government, were " ours, or those of authors devoted to us. They were all " composed by the members, or by the order of the society. " Before they were sent to the press, they were delivered " in at our office; there we revised and corrected them, and " added to or curtailed them, according as circumstances " required.—We began by printing them on fine or ordinary paper, in sufficient number to pay our expences, and " then an immense number on the commonest paper. These " latter we sent, free of cost, or nearly so, to hawkers and " booksellers, who were to circulate them among the people " at the lowest rate. Such were the means used to pervert " the people, and bring them to the state in which you " now behold them. I shall not behold them long, for I " shall die of grief and remorse;" (Vol. I. p. 335)—and he really died a short time after.

How

How different the deportment of *Condorcet*, (also a member of that club,) who, in the midst of all the sanguinary scenes of the revolution, proclaims the success of these two-fold conspirators, saying, “ *There was a class of men which soon formed itself in Europe with a view not so much to discover and make deep research after truth as to diffuse it: whose chief object was to attack prejudices in the very asylums where the Clergy, the Schools, the Government, and the ancient Corporations had received and protected them; and made their glory to consist rather in destroying popular error than in extending the limits of science: this though an indirect method of forwarding its progress, was not on that account either less dangerous or less useful. — Assuming every tone, taking every shape, from the ludicrous to the pathetic, from the most learned and extensive compilation to the Novel or the petty Pamphlet of the day, covering truth with a veil, which, sparing the eye that was too weak, incited the reader by the pleasure of surmising it, insidiously caressing prejudice in order to strike it with more certainty and effect; seldom menacing more than one at a time, and that only in part; sometimes flattering the enemies of Reason by seeming to ask but for a half toleration in Religion or a half Liberty in polity; respecting Despotism when they impugned religious absurdities, and Religion when they attacked tyranny; combating these two pests in their very principles, though apparently inveighing against ridiculous and disgusting abuses; striking at the root of those pestiferous trees, whilst they appeared only to wish to lop the straggling branches; at one time marking out superstition, which covers Despotism with its impenetrable shield, to the friends of Liberty, as the first victim which they are*

“ to immolate, the first link to be cleft asunder; at another
 “ denouncing it to Despots as the real enemy of their
 “ power, and frightening them with its hypocritical plots and
 “ sanguinary rage; but indefatigable when they claimed
 “ the independence of Reason and the Liberty of the Press
 “ as the right and safeguard of mankind; inveighing with
 “ enthusiastic energy against the crimes of Fanaticism and
 “ Tyranny;—in fine, adopting *reason, toleration, and*
 “ *humanity*, as their signal and watch-word.

“ Such was the Modern Philosophy. — Its chiefs had
 “ the art of escaping vengeance, though exposed to ha-
 “ tred: *of hiding themselves from persecution, though*
 “ *sufficiently conspicuous to lose nothing of their glory.*”
 —(Vol. II. p. 134.)

The learned Abbé next takes a view of the different systems and degrees, and even describes the trials made of their principles, and particularly at Geneva, almost under the direction of Voltaire, the premier chief.

It was natural that when their conspiracy had gained so much strength, these self-created Philosophers should seek after and coalesce with every other species of conspirator that was to be found. An ancient conspiracy against Christianity and against Monarchy had been handed down, and zealously prosecuted in the OCCULT LODGES of Masonry;* they were no other than the ancient mysteries of *Manes*,

* The learned Author says *Occult Lodges*, as the Free-masons in general were far from being acquainted with the conspiracies of the *Occult Lodges*; and indeed many were people not to be tampered with. It might be objected, that all Lodges were Occult: with regard to the public they were so; but, beside the *Common Lodges*, there existed others which were hidden from the generality of the Free-masons. It is those which the Author styles *ARRIERES LOGES*, and that have been called *OCCULT LODGES* in the English Translation.

of indefinite *Equality* and *Liberty*; and left assassins should be wanting to the Sect the following is the reception in the degree of Knight *Kadosch*: "In the Lodges of the
 " Knights *Kadosch*, after all the oaths, ceremonies, and
 " trials, more or less terrible, wicked, and impious,
 " three figures are shown to the candidate, representing
 " *Clement V. Philippe le Bel*, (the two potentates who
 " destroyed the Knights Templars,) and *the Grand*
 " *Master of Malta**, each attired in the attributes of their
 " dignities. The unhappy fanatic is here to swear eternal
 " hatred and death to these three proscribed persons, en-
 " tailing that hatred and death on their successors in their
 " default. He then strikes off the three heads, which, as
 " in the degree of ELECT, are real when they can be
 " procured, or filled with blood, if fictitious; this he
 " does, crying out, *vengeance! vengeance!*"—(Vol. IV.
 p. 148.)

This is an awful reflexion for honest Masons, who in their first degrees interpret their secret of *Equality* and *Liberty* only as an *Equality* within the Lodge among each other, without any other distinction than that of the degrees; and a *Liberty* to do good, which, it is to be hoped, needs not the most bloody *Oaths of Secrecy* to practice.

But when we come to the third volume, a quite different scene opens itself. Here all the mysteries of Illuminism are revealed, from the first conception of it by

* It might be objected, that the Knights of Malta gained admittance to the Lodges just as other people could. Latterly, it is true, they could; but it was only because the Sect had changed its batteries, and thought proper to make use of the same artifice against that Order, as it did against the church, by making its adepts become members of the Order; witness *Dolomieu* and *Bosfredon*; formerly the cross of Malta was a badge of exclusion from the Masonic Lodges.

Spartacus-Weishaupt, to its most horrid views for the destruction of Religion, of Government of every species, and of *all Property* without exception. These reforming impostors assumed the garb of virtue and science; and a letter of the founder will delineate his practice of virtue, as well as the use he would make of science. *Weishaupt* writes to his adept *Hertel*, "My honour is in danger, and " I am *on the eve of losing* that reputation which gave me *so* " *great an authority* OVER our people. My sister-in-law " is with child. I have sent her to Munich, to *Euripon*, " to solicit a marriage licence from Rome: — But should " she fail, what shall I do? — *We have already made* " *several attempts to destroy the child*; she was determined " to undergo all; but *Euripon* is too timid. Yet I " scarcely see any other expedient. But could I depend " on *Baader's* secrecy, (he was a *learned* physician at " Munich,) he could be of great service to me; *he had* " *promised me his aid three years ago* (a pretty use of " science). Mention it to him if you think proper. — If " you could extricate me from this unfortunate step, you " would restore me to life, to honor, to rest, and to *au-* " *thority*" (that is, over his people). He next complains to his friend *Zwack*, and shows his hypocrisy when he says, "What vexes me the most in all this is, *that my* " *authority over our people will be greatly diminished*; " that I have *exposed a weak side*, of which they will " not fail to advantage themselves *whenever I may* " *preach morality*, and exhort them *to virtue and* " *modesty*."

This will be sufficient to pourtray the founder of the *Atheistical Illuminees*, who has, together with *Zwack* and the Baron *Knigge*, compiled so astonishing and progressive a code of rebellion, that one would be tempted to pronounce

nounce it supernatural. The fondest parent never so solicitously watched his most beloved child, nor bethought himself of so many arts for its preservation as this astonishing prototype of rebellion has invented for the perdition of Man both in this life and the next. No; Satan, when seeking vengeance against his Divine Creator, would have been proud to become the pupil of the modern Spartacus.— Singular to say, the Sophisters of Impiety, seeking to recruit their ranks, when become the Sophisters of Rebellion, had flocked to the Masonic Lodges; and it is through the means of those very Lodges also that Illuminism has overwhelmed Europe with its curses.

The Abbé, after having given every particular of the code of Illuminism, or of the ANTISOCIAL CONSPIRACY, proceeds to delineate the historical part of Illuminism, and then applies the triple conspiracy to the French revolution. He describes the Baron Knigge intriguing at Willemstad, where the Freemasons from all parts of the world had assembled. The Baron presently gained over about five hundred of the brotherhood; and soon after the Sect declares, “ *Of all the Legitimate Lodges in Germany, there is ONLY ONE that has not coalesced with our Superiors,*” “ and this Lodge has been obliged to suspend its labours.”

How formidable is this declaration in the eyes of him who has read the code of Illuminism! How simple the means of seduction! for when Weishaupt wishes to make himself master of the Lodges of Poland, he only instructs Zwack to make the following propositions to the Polish Masons: “ I. That they should acknowledge but the first three degrees.—II. That each Lodge should be at liberty to have such Superiors, and as many of them, as they pleased.—III. That all Lodges should be independent of each other, at least as much so as the Lodges of Germany

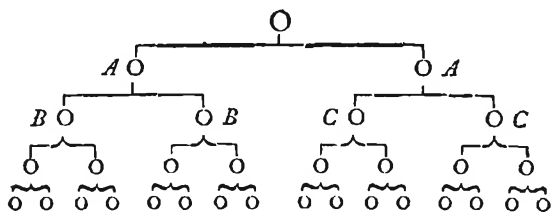
“ many are of those of Poland.—IV. That all their union
 “ shall be carried on *by the* CORRESPONDENCE *and* VISITS
 “ *of the brethren*—If we can but gain that point, we
 “ shall have succeeded in all we want; *leave the rest to*
 “ *me.*” (Vol. IV. p. 193). And in what light does this
 arch-conspirator view (I will say) the most innocent Ma-
 sons? “ Though these mysterious associations should not
 “ attain our object, they prepare the way for us; they
 “ give a new interest to the cause; they present it under
 “ points of view hitherto unobserved; they stimulate
 “ the inventive powers and the expectations of man-
 “ kind; *they render men more indifferent as to the*
 “ *interests of governments*; they bring men of divers
 “ nations and religions within the same bond of uni-
 “ on; *they deprive the church and state of their ablest*
 “ *and most laborious members*; they bring men together
 “ who would never otherwise have known or met
 “ each other. *By this method alone they undermine*
 “ *the foundations of states, though they really had*
 “ *no such project in view.* They throw them together
 “ and make them clash one against the other. They teach
 “ mankind the power and force of union; they point out
 “ to them *the imperfections of their political constitutions,*
 “ and that without exposing them to the suspicions of
 “ their enemies, such as magistrates and public govern-
 “ ments. They mask our progress, *and procure us the*
 “ *facility of incorporating in our plans and of admitting*
 “ *into our Order, after the proper trials, the most able*
 “ *men, whose patience, long abused, thirsts after the*
 “ *Grand Ultimatum.* By this means they weaken the
 “ enemy; and, though they should never triumph over
 “ him, they will *at least diminish the numbers and the*
 “ *zeal of his partizans.* In proportion as these new as-
 sociations

"sociations or *Secret Societies*, formed in different states,
 "shall acquire strength and prudence, at the expence of
 "the former ones (that is, of civil society), *the latter*
 "*must weaken and insensibly fall.*"—(Vol. III. p. 213.)
 —And what is to be the Grand Ultimatum of these Se-
 cret Societies, "*these schools, which have been in all ages*
 "*the archives of Nature and of the RIGHTS OF MAN?*
 "*These schools shall one day retrieve the fall of Human*
 "*Nature, AND PRINCES AND NATIONS SHALL DISAP-*
 "*PEAR FROM THE FACE OF THE EARTH; and that*
 "*without any violence.* — Morality shall alone produce
 "this great revolution." But what is to be understood
 by morality? He says, "*Nor is true morality any other*
 "*than the art of teaching men to shake off their ward-*
 "*ship, to attain the AGE OF MANHOOD, and thus to*
 "*need neither princes nor governments.*" — (Vol. III.
 p. 199.) With respect to *Property*, it is represented as
 the bane of Liberty and Equality: As families multiplied,
 "the means of subsistence began to fail; the *nomade* (or
 "roaming) *life ceased, and PROPERTY started into ex-*
 "*istence*; men chose habitations; agriculture made them
 "intermix. Language became universal; living together,
 "one man began to measure his strength with another,
 "and the weaker were distinguished from the stronger.
 "This undoubtedly created the idea of mutual defence,
 "of one individual governing divers families re-united,
 "and of thus defending their persons and their fields
 "against the invasion of an enemy, *but hence LIBERTY*
 "*was ruined in its foundation, and EQUALITY disap-*
 "*peared.*" (Vol. III. p. 175). Thus would the Illumi-
 nees, in defence of Liberty and Equality, wish to overturn
 every idea of property, and restore us naked to the de-
 serts, there to lead the *nomade or savage life*. As to the
 "Mercantile

"*Mercantile Tribe*," as they choose to style the commercial part of the state, "confer on it any rank or authority in the government, and you will have created perhaps the most formidable, the most *despotic* of all powers." They are represented as enjoying the means of creating, foreseeing, and satisfying, wants hence dangerous to Liberty and Equality.—So confident of success is Weishaupt, that he exclaims, "All the efforts, therefore, of Princes to stop our progress will be fruitless; the *spark may long remain hidden* in the ashes; but the day must come, in which the general flame shall burst forth."—(Vol. III. p. 214.)

The Abbé has dwelt at full length on every artifice and device of the Code, from the regulations for the Novice, to those of the *Man-king*, or Man recognizing no master, either human or divine, but himself. It is singular to see the art with which even the Novices are prepared for the most atrocious deeds. We see them assenting to the following obligations: "*Can you and will you look upon the welfare of the Order as your own?—Do you, moreover, grant the POWER OF LIFE AND DEATH to our Order or Society?—Do you subject yourself to a BLIND OBEDIENCE, WITHOUT ANY RESTRICTION WHATEVER?*" This is not all: when preparing such desperate conspirators, lest they should betray their secret, they are questioned unawares by their Teacher or Insinuator, even suddenly awakened out of their sleep. And suicide was not only encouraged, but dogmatically taught in the Order, under the formula of *patet exitus*, or the exit is free; a certain inexpressible pleasure was said to appertain to suicide; and all this is called the diffusion of light! "The mode of diffusing universal light is, not to proclaim it at once to the world, but to begin
" *with*

“ *with yourself*; then turn towards your next neighbour ;
 “ you two can enlighten a third and fourth ; let these, in
 “ the same manner, extend and multiply the number of the
 “ children of light, until numbers and force shall throw
 “ power into your hands (Vol. III. p. 196) ; *then will you*
 “ *be able to bind the hands of your opponents, to subjugate*
 “ *them, and to stifle wickedness in the embryo* ;” that is to
 say, every principle of civil or political society. Left Weis-
 haupt’s meaning should be mistaken, when writing to two of
 his favourite adepts, he subjoins the following corresponding
 scale,



and explains it to Zwack, “ Immediately under me I have
 “ two adepts, into whom I infuse my whole spirit ; each of
 “ these corresponds with two others, and so on. By this
 “ method, and in the simplest way possible, I can inflame
 “ and put in motion thousands of men at once.”—He also
 writes to Baader : “ I have sent to Zwack a scale, show-
 “ ing how one may methodically, and without much trou-
 “ ble, *arrange a great multitude of men in the finest order*
 “ *imaginable* — the spirit of the first, of the most ardent,
 “ of the most profound adept, daily and incessantly com-
 “ municates itself to the two *A A*, by the one to *B B*,
 “ by the other to *C C*. — *B B* and *C C* communicate it
 “ to the eight following ; these to the next sixteen, from
 “ thence to the thirty-two, and so downwards — In a

“ word, every man has his *Aid-Major*, by whose means he
 “ immediately acts on all the others. The whole force
 “ first issues from the centre, and then flows back again
 “ to it. Each one subjects, as it were to his own person,
 “ two men whom he searches to the bottom, whom he ob-
 “ serves, disposes, inflames, and drills, as it were, like
 “ recruits, that they may hereafter exercise and fire with
 “ the whole regiment”—(Vol. III. p. 409) — It is by
 such means, says the founder of Illuminism, that orders
 are to be transmitted and political operations carried on.

The learned Abbé also describes that famous association
 invented by a Doctor Bahrde, and known under the ap-
 pellation of *German Union*. This was an union among
 all the booksellers that could be seduced into the Order of
 the Illuminees, to suppress, by every means in their power,
 all works that might lay open the views or impede the
 progress of the Sect. They were also to circulate all
 writings, however seditious, when written by the Sect;
 and at the head of this literary association was *Nicolai*, a

* Such is the nature of Illuminism, which the learned Abbé has laid
 open to the public; nevertheless, a foreigner lately come to this country,
 and who writes a new publication under the title of *Mercurie Britannique*,
 has (page 541) inserted a paragraph on this work, as scurrilous as it is
 contemptible. In his rage, he goes so far as to represent Illuminism as
 “ the unintelligible reveries of a few pedants of Germany,” and which he sup-
 poses the Abbé does not understand himself. Had not this learned work
 already met with the unparalleled approbation of the English nation at
 large, the few specimens here adduced, which are but too intelligible,
 would be sufficient to give the English reader an idea of the perspicuity and
 candour of the learned Abbé, especially when compared with the abuse
 contained in the above paragraph.—It is with real pleasure I announce
 to my readers, that his Prussian Majesty has just published an Edict in xlii.
 Articles, suppressing these secret societies. The Edict may be seen in Mr.
 Peltier's *PARIS PENDANT* 1798, No. CLXX page 115, and will, it is
 to be hoped, find its way into all the public prints of this country.

powerful

powerful bookseller at Berlin, who was aided in his labours by other adepts in different quarters of Germany. The business of these chiefs was much of the same nature as that of Holbach's club, already described by Le Roy in the foregoing pages. It was also under the direction of these adepts, that *Reading Societies* were set on foot, and *Newspapers* and *Reviews* published to calumniate every person that could not be brought over to their party, and to spread their principles. Among the rules for the Regent, we read, that "Every effort must be made to gain over the author; but should all our attempts fail, and we should be unable to entice him into the Order, *let him be discredited by EVERY means possible.*"—(Vol. III. p. 343.)—To weaken the veneration of the people for their princes, and to assume *no matter what cloak*, provided they did but succeed, is also to be found in the instructions of the Regent, though *the inferior Ledges of Masonry* are declared *to be the most convenient cloaks*. The very nature of this union shows the wisdom (I will even say the necessity), when prosecutions are carried on against incendiary publications, not only to prosecute the author, but *every bookseller without distinction* who shall have sold such publication. Should the Jacobin exclaim against such a proposition, let him learn, that his much admired French Directory not only sends the writer of any publication that gives umbrage to their ferocious dignity to the deserts of Cayenne, but the publisher, the vendor, and even the buyer. But instructions of a still more serious nature to every parent are given to the Regent and Prefect: "Never lose sight (say these instructions) of the military-schools, of the academies, printing presses, libraries, cathedral chapters, or any public establishments that can influence education or government. Let

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" our

“our Regents perpetually attend to the various means, and form plans, for making us masters of all these establishments.” — The Prefect will spare no pains to gain possession of the *schools* which lie within his district, and also of *their teachers*. He will find means of placing them under the tuition of members of our Order; for this is the true method of infusing our principles and of training our young men.” It is with regret I find myself compelled to say, that scarcely an university in the north of Germany has escaped the plots of the Sect; and, at Jena, the magistrates were obliged to interfere, the scholars (many of them not ten years of age) having formed one of those secret societies under the name of *Amicists*, and were discovered to be nothing but young Illuminees training up, and nurtured in their abominable principles under the secret direction of more hardened seducers. The reports to the Superiors are irrefragable proofs of their baleful conquests in schools and seminaries, though they never lost sight of COUNTRY SCHOOLS, as one of the surest means for gaining over the *common people* to their plots.

When Illuminism had spread itself throughout Germany, Italy, Switzerland, and Holland, it was thought proper to make an attack on France, which had not hitherto been tampered with, on account of the fiery and hasty disposition of its inhabitants. Mirabeau, who had been initiated by Mauvillon, was the person who informed the German chiefs that it was now time to send their emissaries. *Amelius-Bode* and *Bayard-Busche* were accordingly sent, and were received at Paris by the secret committee of the Masonic Lodge of the *Amis Reunis*. They submitted the code of Illuminism to the High Council, and it was agreed that the degree of *Epopt* alone (whence
I have

I have chiefly made my extracts) should be adopted, but shaped out to the Masonic forms. It was received with enthusiasm all over France, and French Masonry became illuminized without even having heard of the name of Illuminees, that is to say, of *Atheistical* Illuminees; for another species had grown very common in France; these were called Martinists, and were the same Sect as the Swedenborgian Illuminees. It was against these that Mirabeau wrote his pamphlet on the Illuminees, and really laid open all the intrigues and pursuits of that part of them which pretended to the powers of ghost raising, evoking spirits, and raising and interrogating the dead. But, with regard to the other part of them, who were prosecuting the mysteries of Equality and Liberty, he is silent; and, indeed, his object in writing was no other than to mislead the generality of the world as to the existence of the Atheistical Sect. It was because the Swedenborgians were perpetually talking of God and of spirits, that they were styled *Theosophical* Illuminees, though their mysteries lead to as rank Atheism as those of the modern Spartacus, only by different means. They had spread all over Europe, and travelling adepts initiated into the mysteries such Masons as were judged worthy of them. *Fire* they represented as *the principle of all things*. A serpent with its tail in its mouth was the emblem of the *eternity of the world*, having neither *beginning or end*. The serpent also, having the property of renovating its skin, was figurative of the revolutions of the universe and of nature; and the phoenix, revivifying from its ashes, denotes how the universe is reproduced, and will continue to be so, from itself. — But this was merely leading the candidate to Materialism: the next point was, to obtain the oath which in regular-built lodges took place as follows: the

candidate was led through dark windings into a cavern, where the image of death, the mechanism of spectres, portions of blood, sepulchral lamps, subterraneous voices; every thing, in short, that can affright the imagination, and successively hurry the candidate from terror to enthusiasm, is put in action. When the candidate is worn out with fatigue, a voice dictates the following execrable oath which is sworn: "I here break all the ties of the flesh
 " that bind me to father, mother, brothers, sisters, wife,
 " relations, friends, *mistresses*, kings, chiefs, benefactors;
 " in short, to every person to whom I have promised faith,
 " obedience, gratitude, or service. I swear to reveal to the
 " new chief whom I acknowledge every thing that I shall
 " have seen, done, read, heard, learned, or discovered
 " and even to seek after and spy into things that might
 " otherwise escape my notice. I swear to revere the *Aqua*
 " *Tophana* (a most subtle poison) as a certain, prompt,
 " and necessary means of ridding the earth, by death or
 " stupefaction, of those who revile the truth, or seek to
 " wrest it from my hands." After this the reader will not be surprized to hear of the *Black List*, on which were inscribed the names of those who gave umbrage to the Sect, and of the *Red List*, or *Blood List*; and when once a person was entered on that, it was, among the Order, held futile to flatter one's self with the hope of escaping the poisons or the assassins of the Sect. With such oaths and such means it is easy to conceive that a coalition might take place, as it really did, between these two species of Illuminees. The Abbé traces all the chiefs of the Revolution to the Lodges, and each species of adept conspired, according to the pre-eminence of the Lodge he belonged to. The Duke of Orleans was now Grand Master of French Masonry, and held correspon-

dence all over the world. He established Lodges in the suburbs of Paris, into which he introduced the soldiers of the French Guards, and the more desperate part of the rabble; teaching them Equality and Liberty, and thus preparing them for the general explosion which took place on the 14th of July, and the sanguinary scenes that were to succeed. Similar precautions had been taken in the provinces; and on that fatal day, above a million of men appeared in arms, starting forth from their lurking places. Now the leaders of the Lodges transferred their sittings from the Lodges to the Town-halls, while the Grand Council (first assuming the name of Club Breton, at Versailles, in order to be near the National Assembly) adjourned their meetings to a church in the Rue St. Honoré at Paris, where they took the name of JACOBINS, from the monastery to which the church belonged; and this is the name now very properly given to that compound of Rebellion and Atheism formed of the *Sophisters of Impiety* conspiring against Christianity, without distinction of worship, whether Protestant or Catholic, Anglican or Presbyterian (the object of the first volume); of the *Sophisters of Rebellion* conspiring against Monarchy (the object of the second volume); and of the *Sophisters of Impiety and Anarchy*, or the Illuminees, conspiring against every religion, natural or revealed, against every government, against all civil society, and against all property whatever (the object of the third and fourth volumes).

The author, in the latter part of his fourth volume, makes the application of this triple conspiracy to the French Revolution, which was as gradual as the Masonic degrees. The Grand Lodge of Paris begins by a Manifesto to all the Masonic Lodges in the universe, to summon them
 “ to confederate together; to unite their efforts to main-

“tain the revolution; to gain over to it, in all parts, “friends, partizans, and protectors; to propagate the “flame, to vivify the spirit, *to excite zeal and arder for* “*it, IN EVERY STATE, and by every means in their* “*power.*” — (Vol. IV. p. 464.) — No sooner was this received, than *Tom Paines* started up in every country, and the honours of French citizenship were the recompence of these incendiaries. First appear the *Constitutionalists*, or the French essay-masters in constitutions, dabbling with metaphysical discussions on the Rights of Man; they, together with those men called *Monarchists* (through derision, probably), disjoint the sceptre, pillage the church, and then are abandoned by the Sect, who no longer want the support of their feeble talents. On these would I wish Englishmen to reflect. These were the trumpeters on abuses, inventors of portentous reforms, and were in their own minds to be the perfectors of the art of government. And what were they in reality? — the tools employed by the Sect to break down the sacred pale of the French Monarchy. But why should I dwell on this, in a country where the laws so well distinguish each man’s guilt? Does not every Englishman on a jury, when a person is brought before him on his trial for a burglary, know that the heinousness of the crime attaches to the *breaking* the dwelling, though even the theft should not be accomplished? Nor would the crime of another band of robbers, who really stole from that house which the former had left open, be so heinous in the eyes of the law as the crime of the former band, though the crime of the latter is also declared capital by the statute law of the land.

Just so do we see the plundered Church and defenceless, King of France delivered over to the second Assembly; that is the *Æra* of the bloody 10th of August, of the butchering
September.

September. This Assembly makes place for a third, when hecatombs of priests and pontiffs are submerged in the ocean; death hunts them in every shape: the Monarch, his Royal Consort, his Sister, are dragged to the guillotine by the ruthless conspirators! Thus do we see the plots against the Church and Monarchy accomplished; the plots against PROPERTY had been prosecuted with frightful success. In the first assembly, those conspirators who now *call themselves Constitutionalists* had annihilated the property of the Clergy. In the next assembly, that of the Nobles was seized, under pretence of emigration, while those who remained in France were pillaged, under the pretence of confiscation. During the third, appear the adepts *Bruissart, Robespierre*, and the two *Juliens*; and they write, that the favourable moment is now come *to extirpate the MERCANTILE ARISTOCRACY as well as that of the NOBLES*. In their secret correspondence, as in *Weishaupt's Mysteries*, they declare, that *Merchantism must be crushed; that wherever a large number of rich merchants were to be found, there were sure to be found as many cheats, and Liberty could not establish its empire there*. Accordingly, spoliation and requisitions have robbed the merchants and citizens of their *property*, just as the Clergy and Nobility had been robbed before them. But this was not the accomplishment of the *Grand End* of the ultimate views of the Sect, which was the obliteration of all property whatever. Accordingly *Drouet, Babœuf, and Langelot* appear. These declare, *that the French Revolution is but the forerunner of a Revolution greater by far and much more solemn, and which will be the last*. Then from the nobleman to the cottager all are to be stripped of their property. But, tremendous as is the prospect, how small, when we look back, the spark first fostered

fostered by impiety ! yet how immense, how universal, its progress ! The Palatinate, Belgium, Holland, Spain, Portugal, Naples, Italy, the Armies of the Princes, Malta, Constantinople and the East, Africa, America, Switzerland, Sweden, Russia, Poland, Austria, Prussia, have all felt the effects of it ; and each has its separate article in this volume.

Would to God, that England were not entitled to find its place on this black list ! but the learned author has unfortunately traced the agents of Illuminism even to our shores. We see *Rontgen* sent by the Superiors of Illuminism ; the boastings of *Zimmerman* (*the profligate*, to distinguish him from the *great man* of Bern) ; the peregrinations of a Doctor *Ibiken* and of a Mr. *Reginhart*, are but too clear. If, after this, he turns his eyes toward Ireland, and toward Scotland ; if he reads the Reports of the Secret Committees of the Irish or English Legislatures ; will not every reader be induced to raise his hands to Heaven, and return thanks to the all-merciful and powerful God, that has in his goodness preserved us from such numberless dangers !

Thus far has the Translator attempted to give a faint idea of the nature of the Abbé's valuable work, which it has been his aim to lay open to such of his countrymen as may not be sufficiently versed in the French language to read it in the original. The application of the Memoirs of Jacobinism to these Kingdoms, being the object of the note subjoined to the fourth volume of the translation of that work, and it having been thought proper to publish it separately, this preliminary sketch has been prefixed, that the reader, who, from his worldly occupations, may not have time to peruse the work at large, may not remain entirely unapprized of the universal danger, and may thus guard against the ARTS OF SEDUCTION—the most powerful weapons of Jacobinism.

NOTE

For the End of Vol. IV. of the Memoirs illustrating the History of Jacobinism.

ON publishing the Translation of the First Volume of these Memoirs, I declared that I considered myself as only *fulfilling a duty* in laying open so excellent a work to those of my countrymen who were not sufficiently versed in the French language to read the original. The object of *the Author* throughout has been to shew the universal havock and desolation with which these depredatory Sects have threatened all Europe; *Mine* has been to excite the vigilant attention of my countrymen, lest they fall into the snares that are laid to entrap them. This will, I hope, be thought a sufficient reason for the following more circumstantial application to Ireland and Great Britain of the dreadful plots that have been detailed in these Memoirs.

IRELAND.

Ireland, ever since the year 1782, had presented a perpetual scene of different associations for different objects. The Volunteers had given rise to much debate; the Roman Catholics had been actively employed in petitioning the legislature for the redress of certain grievances under which they laboured; and their prayer was at length partly acceded to.

The first appearance, however, of the association to which we now allude was in June, 1791. The proposals for it are couched in the style and exact terms of the Hierophants

rophants of Illuminism. They recommend the formation of an association, or, as it is styled, "a beneficent conspiracy" to serve the people; assuming "the secrecy" and somewhat of the ceremonial attached to Freemasonry." *Secrecy* is declared to be necessary to make "The bond of union more cohesive and the spirit of union more ardent; to envelope the plan with ambiguity, to facilitate its own agency, to confound and terrify its enemies by their ignorance of the design, extent, and direction," &c. Its *Ceremonial* is also Masonic in order to create enthusiasm. "Let every member wear (day and night) an amulet round his neck, containing the great principle which unites the brotherhood, in letters of gold, on a ribbon, striped with all the original colours, and inclosed in a sheath of white silk, to represent the pure union of the mingled rays, and the abolition of all superficial distinctions, all colours, and shades of difference, for the sake of one illustrious End. Let this amulet of union, faith, and honour, depend from the neck, and be bound about the body next to the skin and close to the heart." Masonic Secrecy, Equality, and Union, cannot possibly be better described.

Its members are to be chosen from among men in the prime of life, without distinction of religion; true philanthropists, "who are not bound down to obedience to that wizard word EMPIRE, nor to the sovereignty of two sounding syllables;" from among men, in short, "who know liberty, who wish to have it, and who are determined to live and die free-men" (*vivre libre ou mourir*).

This association (at first called the Irish Brotherhood, and afterwards the United Irishmen) "will have, it is said, an eye provident and prospective, a reach and
8 "amplitude

“ amplitude of conception commensurate to the progressive diffusion of knowledge ; — it will make the light of philanthropy converge.” Its END is declared to be, “ *The rights of men in Ireland* ; the greatest happiness of the greatest number in this Island ; the inherent and indefeasible claims of every free nation :” For, “ the rights of man are the rights of God ; and to vindicate the one is to maintain the other. We must be free, in order to serve him whose service is perfect freedom.

The Hierophant next proceeds to state, that “ to form a summary of the national will and pleasure in points most interesting to national happiness, and then to put this doctrine as speedily as may be into practice, will be the purpose of this *Central Society*, or *Lodge*, from which other lodges in the different towns will radiate.” The distinctions of rank, of property, and of religious persuasions, are to be abolished ; but whether any thing short of “ *great convulsion*” can effectually and speedily procure the reform proposed, is to be, with many other principles of sedition, the subject of future discussion by the association.

The whole body was to meet four times a year, and the (regulating) committee once a month. These meetings were to be “ *convivial ; conversational*, not a debating society ; and *confidential*, the heart open and the door locked.” Their *external business* to consist, “ 1st, in publications to propagate their principles and effectuate their ends. All papers for this purpose are to be sanctioned by the committee. — 2dly, Communication with the different towns to be assiduously kept up, and every exertion used to accomplish a National Convention. — 3dly, Communication with *similar societies* abroad, as the *JACOBIN CLUB* at Paris, the *Revolution Society*

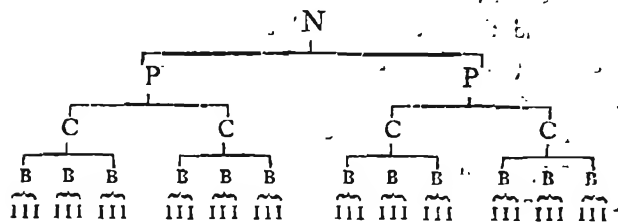
“ *Society IN ENGLAND, the Committee of Reform IN SCOTLAND.*”

Eulogies were to be pronounced (as in the *Miner's Schools*) “ on such men as shall have deserved well of their country *until death*, whose works should live in a library to be formed by the society and dedicated to liberty.” — “ The aristocracy (poor dupes) were to be made their instruments.” — (*Irish Report, Appendix, No. IV.*) — Such was the plan on which this association was to be formed, and it was recommended to the people of Belfast by a Mr. Tunc. On the 9th of November, 1791, the day on which the association was instituted at Dublin, a similar invitation was published by it, and was signed Napper Tandy. Thus do we find that Liberty, Equality, Secrecy, Union, and the Rights of man, were the real objects of this association. It is true that Parliamentary Reform and Catholic Emancipation were held out as their only objects; but it has since appeared upon oath, that these were only pretexts, and that “ the people in Leinster, Munster, and Connaught did not care the value of a pen, or the drop of ink it contained, for *Parliamentary Reform* or *Catholic Emancipation*.” — (*Appendix, No. XXXI.*)

Their Forms and Regulations were also Masonic.—Members were honorary or ordinary, and admitted between two *sponsors*, who vouched for the characters and principles of the candidates. The sign and word were adopted. Funds were produced by admission fees, loans, and voluntary contributions of the “ *Aristocrats*.” Taxes also of one penny per month were levied on the individuals of the association, and were generally transmitted through regular gradations to the High Superiors. Many changes, however, took place on this subject, and latterly
three-pence

three-pence per month was levied. These funds were not even entrusted to the Provincial Committees; but a member of the Executive attended to carry away the monies as soon as they were received.—It is true, indeed, that the Executive accounted to the Provincial Committee once every three months.

A Chairman, or Master, presided over the Lodges, whose duty it was to preserve order and direct debates; he had the power, of fining refractory members to the amount of five shillings, and even of expelling the member if he continued to be contumacious; as also to erase such members as did not attend their duty after they had been served with a regular notice. Officers were appointed, and the secretaries always belonged to a higher degree. The concatenation of the degrees perfectly coincides with Weisshaupt's plan, as the following scale of correspondence (of National, Provincial, County, and Baronial Committees, emanating from the Individual Societies) will demonstrate.



When an Individual Society amounted to thirty-six members, it was equally divided by lot. The first eighteen drawn by the secretary were considered as the senior society, the remaining eighteen formed the junior split, and received its number from the Baronial Committee through the medium of the senior split.

The Baronial Committee was composed of the secretaries, treasurers, and a delegate from each individual society under their direction. The County and Provincial Committees were to be composed of the secretaries, treasurers, and a delegate from the Committees immediately under them.—(*Ibid. No. II.*) Ireland was subdivided into its four Provinces, and its thirty-two Counties; but as soon as two County Committees were formed, the Provincial Committee of that province was to be chosen. When two Provincial Committees had been elected, the National was formed of five members from each Provincial Committee.

No person whatever could mention the names of committee-men: they were not even known to those who had elected them in the case of the National or Executive Committee, the secretaries of the Provincial that examined the ballot only informing the persons who had the majority of votes, without reporting to the Electors. Thus was the society entirely governed by *unknown* Superiors.

When any questions were proposed in an inferior society, and this society wished to transmit them to other societies (either to get information on the subject, or for any other reason) it was to send them to the committee under whose immediate direction it might be.

Strange members were admitted to the meetings (or, as they termed it, “*to the honours of the sitting*”) on producing their credentials; but the secretaries made no returns in their presence.

A test was taken by every candidate previous to his admission, in a separate room, in presence of his two sponsors and of a member delegated by the Master for that purpose. The test was declared to be “*a social and sacred compact*,” and was in the words following: “*I, A. B.* do voluntarily declare, that I will persevere in endeavouring

“ vowing to form a brotherhood of affection among
 “ Irishmen of every religious persuasion, and that I will
 “ also persevere in my endeavours to obtain an equal, full,
 “ and adequate representation of all the people of Ire-
 “ land. I do farther declare, that neither hopes nor fears,
 “ rewards nor punishments, shall ever induce me, directly
 “ or indirectly, to inform or give evidence against any
 “ member or members of this or similar societies, for any
 “ act or expression of theirs done, or made collectively or
 “ individually, in or out of this society, in pursuance of
 “ the spirit of this obligation.”—(*Ibid. No. II.*)

Dublin, Belfast, and Newry, were now become the head-quarters of the new conspiracy. The latter town even enjoyed the exclusive privilege of printing the constitutions of the association, till by a decree of the 7th December 1796 it was resolved, that they should be printed in three different parts of the Kingdom for *conveniency's sake*. A delegate was also deputed from thence into the county of Cavan and the province of Leinster, where he founded a number of societies. The whole county of Antrim was soon in a ferment; its inhabitants were dissenters, whose religious tenets bordered on democracy. — The new-fangled Rights of Man began to be the favourite theme of all the discontented in Europe; Paine's Works were profusely distributed among the Irish; publications of all sorts and sizes were circulated, holding out “ *Inq-*
 “ *rance* as the demon of discord — *Union*, as power, wis-
 “ dom, and the road to liberty,” and teaching the rising brotherhood “ that a more unjust constitution could not
 “ be devised, than that which condemned the natives of a
 “ country to perpetual servitude under the arbitrary do-
 “ minion of slaves and strangers; — that the first and indis-
 “ pensable condition of the laws in a free state is, the assent

" of those whose obedience they require — ~~that~~ the
 " will of the nation must be declared. — Away from us
 " (cries the Hierophant) and from our children those
 " puerile antipathies so unworthy the *manhood* of nations,
 " which insulate man as well as countries, and drive the
 " citizen back to the savage." No longer shall man con-
 fine his attention to some few fragments of the temple of
 Liberty. In future, " the ample earth is to be its area,
 " and the arch of heaven its dome."—(*Ibid. No. V.*)—
 The means of accomplishing these great things were the
 union of the whole people; and England, Scotland, and
 Ireland, were simultaneously to raise their voice. In short,
 the clergy, gentry, and government, were held out as the
 real oppressors of the people; and thus were all the prin-
 ciples of anarchy and destruction of property to be infused
 into that same people. Clubs and meetings were held
 under various denominations; the Defenders were invited
 to unite and make a common cause; and the County Com-
 mittees were particularly entrusted with the care of making
 an union between the Orange Men and the Catholics,
 through great precaution was to be observed in speaking
 of the latter, lest the Protestants should take alarm. Union
 among themselves and disaffection to government was to
 constitute their whole strength. It was feared that the
 Catholic Clergy would impede their sinister designs; re-
 ports were spread, " that the titular Bishops had been
 " summoned before the Privy Council, and that they had
 " received a bribe of five hundred guineas; that they
 " were to summon all their Priests, and command them
 " to do all in their power to discover such of their flock
 " as were United Irishmen, or had any connection with
 " such."—(*Ibid. No. II.*)—In those parts where the
 whole population was Catholic, hand-bills were distributed,
 purporting

purporting to be, the Constitution of the Orange Men, which was death and destruction to every Catholic; for, if the common people could be once stirred up to rebellion, it was easy to turn their minds against government as the centre of the Orange union (and what great weight must this assertion have lately acquired, when that badge was worn by persons whose duty it is ever to be above party prejudice!) while, as in the county of Armagh, which had been the scene of much strife between the contending parties, the Sect succeeded in uniting and leaguering them in one common cause against those who were held out as the oppressors of the state.

The chain of correspondence once perfectly established, communications were opened with England and Scotland, and negotiations carried on with the French during the last six months of 1795; and in April 1796 the outlines of a Treaty with France was drawn up by the National Committee, and transmitted to the French Directory. — In the mean time the Sect continued to propagate its principles and enroll recruits, and on the 8th of November all the associations received orders to hold themselves in readiness to rise, and to procure arms and ammunition, as the French were *immediately expected*.

; On the 24th of December the French really did make their appearance at Bantry; and, strange to say, they were not seconded in their attempts by the people, who universally rose in the South to oppose their invaders; but this is accounted for in a still more extraordinary manner. The Executive had received news, that the French had deferred their expedition till spring; this circumstance threw them “ off their guard, and in consequence of it “ no measures were taken to prepare the people for the “ reception of the French army. *The people were left to*
“ them-

" *themselves.*" I hope in God that this avowal, made by one of their intended Governors, may prove a wholesome lesson to that same people, and encourage them to follow the loyal and genuine dictates of their hearts. — (*Ibidem*, No. XXXI.)

In future, the business that will chiefly occupy the Committees will be reports on men, arms, and money, which latter article appears to have been a subject of great contention. Each degree thought itself intitled to dispose of at least a part of their funds; and such had been the law originally; but the High Superiors found it necessary to declare, that no Committee below the County should be empowered to dispose of the funds. Soon after this power was confined to the Provincial, and ultimately one of the Executive Directors always attended at the Provincial Committee to carry away with him to the National Committee whatever contributions had been levied on the brotherhood. The jealousy of the brotherhood obliged the National Committee at one time to issue a proclamation, declaring that not "*one penny of their money had been expended any other way than that it was intended for.*" The vigilance of Government greatly contributed to augment the expences of the Sect, as many of the members were taken up and brought to trial. These were defended at the expence of the brotherhood. A regular Committee for the defence of prisoners travelled the circuits; and the eminent talents of Mr. Curran (employed at a great expence) will ever stand a voucher that justice was done the prisoners wherever he was present. Large sums were subscribed by all classes, and the duped aristocrats (or, as one of the secretaries styles them, the *Arastroricks*) contributed at one single subscription, in the county of Antrim, 374l. At the
spring

spring assizes of 1797, held in the county of Down; 59d. were expended, and a safe conveyance had been procured to the prisoners that were confined in the jail of that county. This, however, was not the only means of defence devised; for it was given as the opinion of a County Committee, "that if there is any United Irishmen on the jury that will commit any of the prisoners that is confined for being United Irishmen, *ought to lose their existence.*" The expences became so heavy at length, from buying arms and supporting and defending prisoners, that a lottery was set on foot; but what reader would suspect (as was really the fact) that this measure was objected to, on the plea that it *encouraged the immorality of the people?*

To return to the new military organization of the Sect. It was ordered, that every Baröñial Comitétee should form its three individual societies into a company of one hundred men, choosing one captain, two lieutenants, and five serjeants; total 108. The reader has already seen how exactly the corresponding scale coincided with Weisshaupt's Illuminism; but when the military formation began to take effect, and the numbers increased beyond all expectation, it was deemed necessary to extend and change certain parts of this scale. Greater danger attending the taking of arms, the individual societies began to split as soon as their numbers amounted to twelve. These were to be near neighbours, the better to watch over each other's actions and to ensure secrecy. The secretaries alone were to form the higher committees. They were the bearers of all orders from the higher to the lower degrees; they reported the progress made by, and the views of, the Sect, in as much as it was thought necessary to let them into the secret; for we find that even the County Com-

Committees were not in the secret as to the nature of the engagements entered into with the French. What unhappy deluded people then were the lower associators, who were informed of nothing, but were to be the mere agents of rebellion and murder, and were hurried on into this abyss of horrors by a few political libertines, who grasped at dominion, and wished to wade to the helm of the state through the blood of their countrymen! Nevertheless, every petty piece of information that was transmitted to the lower degrees, was styled a *Report to their Constituents*, and

According to the new scale, it was ordained, that ~~the~~ *Individual Societies* should be under the direction of ~~one~~ *Baronial Committee*; *TEN Baronials* to one *upper Baronial*; and in large towns *TEN upper Baronials* to one *district*. But as soon as a County contained four or more *District Committees*, the County Committee was created. When committees had been appointed in two counties, the Provincial Committee was formed of two delegates from each, and the National Committee (or the Executive) of five delegates from each of the four Provincial Committees, though the National Committee was formed as soon as two Provincial Committees had been elected. A part of this Executive was stationary in each province; and it appears that Dublin, Cork, and Galway, were their residence in three provinces; but with respect to Ulster, it does not appear whether Belfast, Armagh, or Newry, could claim the honour. From this new formation, each upper Baronial will be found to contain a regiment. (*Ibid.* XXIV.)

One Individual Society		12 Men.
One Baronial	10	120
One upper Baronial	100	1200

The captains elected the colonels, and the latter proposed three persons, one of whom was created adjutant-general by the national committee. It may not be improper here to remark the care with which these higher conspirators sought to preserve their authority in their own hands, even in case of a revolution; for when there was a question afterward of forming a *national-assembly*, it was resolved that each of the thirty-two counties should depute one person to be added to the executive, all lower societies being cast out of the balance, and only to be considered as agents, who, after having been robbed of every moral and civil virtue, were to raise on high their sanguinary chiefs and seducers, glutted with the blood of their lawful governors.

Here we see the amazing progress made and the great power acquired since the 9th of November, 1791. Every thing now took a serious and military turn. The new-elected officers *were instructed to study tactics* and acquire every species of military information with respect to roads, magazines, mills, &c. Plans were devised for the support of the wives and children "*during the exertions of the Brotherhood in the field.*" Every thing that could thwart government was discussed and resolved. The consumption of spirits was prohibited, in order to hurt the excise; bank-notes were cried down; and even the buying of quit-rents was expressly forbidden. In the mean time the High Superiors saw that this armed mob could not be competent of themselves to cope with the king's troops; a means of debauching the latter from their allegiance was therefore contrived. Hand-bills were privily circulated, holding out their officers "as tyrants that had rebelled against *the rights of man*, and whose orders were damnable;" bills, in short, of the most inflammatory nature were dis-

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perfed

performed among the military by the towns-people, who were charged with the seduction of the troops of their garrison. They swore-in some few of the soldiers; these swore others; and when their number was sufficient, societies were formed in the regiments. Here again we find the *sign and word*, which were changed every month; the catechism for recognizing a true brother; and the oath, which was, "to be true to the French republic, and to
 " take the life of any man who would attempt to dis-
 " cover . . . The rule for reckoning on friends among
 the military was, "that in case the person sworn is an
 " United Irishman, and has not taken any active steps
 " against the body or any of its members, *out of the line*
 " *of his profession*, he was to be deemed still the Friend of
 " the United Irishmen."—(*Ibid. No. XIV.*)—The bet-
 ter to propagate the system, it was held out to the military,
 " that when the French should come, the soldiers were to
 " be such as them; that *there were to be no rich, but ALL*
 " *EQUALITY*; and that there was no use in their going
 " against the French, because when all the Powers were
 " against them, they could make no hand of them." They were also tampered with respecting their pay. When all this had sufficiently succeeded, "a soldier in
 " each company was appointed to make a return of united
 " men in his respective company, while two of the
 " steadiest men" from each regiment "were employed to
 " carry these returns" to the towns-people. These, in
 return, informed them of the progress made by the Sect in
 Ireland, and of its numbers on-board the *English* and
French fleet; as also of all kinds of news from the lat-
 ter. A plan was settled, "that upon a signal given, (and
 " this was setting fire to a house, or some such token,) if
 " it was by day light, the men should turn out of the
 " ranks;

“ ranks; and if it was by night, and it could be so con-
 “ trived, an United Irishman should be sentry at the gate,
 “ who was to sell the barracks; and such United Irish-
 “ men as were within the barracks were to exert them-
 “ selves in seizing such arms and ammunition within as
 “ they could get.—If there were but thirty friends in the
 “ barracks, by having them dispersed up and down in the
 “ rooms, when the attack was to be made, they could give
 “ the arms to the towns-people.” If any part of the
 garrison were not to be depended upon, the cannons seized
 were to be pointed on the barracks, or whole corps were
 to be cut off for refusing to coalesce with them. Some
 of the brotherhood even went so far as to attempt to set
 fire to the stores; but the burning coals were luckily dis-
 covered by a dragoon. Such was the plan for garrisons
 and towns; the mode of proceeding in camp is exempli-
 fied in that of Bandon: “ On the 1st of July, 1797, the
 “ country was to be set on fire on both ends and in the
 “ middle; and then, with what friends Mr. O’Brien
 “ near Bandon could send them, and what friends they
 “ had in camp, about Four Hundred, they intended first
 “ taking the cannon, and then taking the bell tents, with
 “ the small arms, which they would give to the country
 “ people sent by Mr. O’Brien, and then *go put General*
 “ *Coote and as many officers as they could to death*, and
 “ retreat to Bantry, take possession of the battery, and
 “ keep it if possible till the French would land.” It appeared
 that at a future time, when a rising was also to have taken
 place, that the soldiers *were to put all their officers to death,*
and the yeomanry also if they opposed them. In return for
 so signal a service, the town of Skibbercen was to be
 given up *to the soldiers for pillage during eight hours.* —
 (*Ibid.* XXXIX.) — Thus do we see the gradual progress of
 this

this horrid association toward its cruel and sanguinary object — THE GREAT END!! The committees in future proceed with the greatest eagerness to prepare every thing that can involve their country in rebellion and bloodshed. After the example of the bloody Marat, and according to the true principles of the Sect, a paper entitled the UNION STAR was published at Belfast, printed only on one side, so that it could be pasted on the walls of the streets. Let this paper describe itself: “ As the Union
 “ Star is an official paper (of the Brotherhood) the managers promise the public that no characters shall be hazarded but such as are denounced by authority, as being
 “ the partners and creatures of Pitt and his sanguinary journeyman Luttrell ” (that is to say, Lord Carhampton, the commander-in-chief). “ The Star offers to public
 “ justice the following detestable traitors, as spies and perjured informers. Perhaps *some arm more lucky* than
 “ the rest may reach their hearts, and free the world from bondage.” Then was given a list of proscriptions, exactly such as Marat gave when he styled himself the *political calculator*, because, when four men had been torn to pieces by the demoniacs of Paris, he stated, that subtracting 4 from 30,000 there still remained 29,996 aristocrats to fall beneath the national vengeance. Now this official writer, in his frantic rage, thus addresses his Sovereign: “ Let the indignation of man be raised against the im-
 “ pious wretch who prophaneely assumes the title of reigning by the grace of God, and impudently tells the
 “ world he can do no wrong. — Oh, man! or rather less,
 “ Oh, king! will the smothered groans of my country-
 “ trymen, who in thy name fill the innumerable dungeons you have made, for *asserting the rights of man*,
 “ be

“ be considered no wrongs? — Go, impious blasphemer!
 “ and your hypocritical forcerers, *to the fate* PHILOSO-
 “ PHY, Justice, and LIBERTY consigns thee. ’Tis in-
 “ evitable, thy impositions are detected; thy kind have
 “ been brought to justice. The first possessor of thy
 “ trade has recently bled for the crimes of the craft. —
 “ We appeal to thy noble and venerated name, O Bru-
 “ tus! who bravely assassinated the tyrant of your coun-
 “ try amidst his cohorts and in the presence of his pen-
 “ sioned senate.” — (XXVII.) — These are literal ex-
 tracts from this paper; and no *Knight Kadsch* of Mason-
 ry nor *Man-king* of Illuminism could hold more violent
 language. Another paper, nearly as wild, called THE
 PRESS, was published by Mr. Arthur O’Connor, with a
 similar view of inflaming the minds of the people. The
 violence of his own productions may be presumed from the
 sentence he passes on all the most violent papers of Eng-
 land in his letter to his Brother. “ We (Burdett and
 “ himself) ordered you the COURIER; as to the morning
 “ papers they *are mere lumber* in your office; so we did
 “ not send you more than the COURIER, as in the busi-
 “ nefs of the Press we found it useless to have any other.”
 — (Trials at Maidstone.)

The Committees continued to receive daily reports of
 the motions and determinations of their allies, the French;
 of their friends in England and in Scotland; and of the
 immense progress that the Sect was making. November,
 1796, they are informed, “ that *four new Societies* are
 “ organized in Scotland, and that the County of Kerry
 “ Militia required one hundred constitutions for their own
 “ use.” In April, 1797, that “ their numbers are im-
 “ mense in Leinster, though *unacquainted* with the sys-

“tem of organization. In Ulster there were 116,844
“men organized.”*

In May, a new scene opens itself, which unfortunately shews us, that the Irish Brotherhood were no strangers to deliberate assassination. Between the hours of eight and nine on a Sunday morning, the 7th of May, 1797, a man of the name of James Dunn (a smith and farrier, who had been in Lord Carhampton’s service for the space of fifteen years, and lived in a house at his lordship’s park-gate) presented himself at a *Baronial Committee*, held in a public-house, Strand-street, Dublin. Maurice Dunn, the keeper of the house, was his sponsor, and “would engage his life for him that he was *up or straight*.” Hereupon the signs of the Brotherhood were put to him; and having by his answers proved that he was a true and accepted Brother, the chairman took the chair. James Dunn then submitted to the Society, “that he and a few more friends “were thinking of *doing out* (shooting) Carhampton,

* The resolutions entered into by the united societies of Donaghadee and its vicinity (and seized on the 14th of April, 1797) are too explicit to be omitted here. They resolved, that “all power is radically in the people;” that “at the present crisis the *people being united* should arm, “choose their officers, and take a first, second, and third, requisition of “such as are able to go forth to war in *defence of their rights* as men;” “that if any prove hostile to liberty, their estates or property shall be “confiscated, and converted to the national fund.” All enemies to the cause were to be tried by a jury, “according to the law *then existing*;” and a *Revolutionary Committee* was to be established. It is true, that this patriotic zeal was condemned by the Provincial Committee as *premature*; but it is to be remembered, that the High Superiors of the Sect feared nothing but a premature insurrection; “for,” say they, by that means Government would have it in their power to put us down, never to rise, at least for a century; and likewise we have paid a great deal of money to “the people in gaol, and it will take a large sum of money to assist “them all winter.” — (*Appendix, No. II.*)

“ because he was a great hindrance to matters getting forward.” This news electrified the whole committee with joy. One exclaimed, “ It is *great* news.” “ It is glorious news,” cried another; “ It is the best news we have heard yet,” said a third; and a fourth declared, that “ it would do more for the cause than had ever been done before.” Dunn then mentioned a narrow part of the road leading to Luttrellstown, and a stone wall from whence he might have a *slap* at Lord Carhampton, who he said was *damned wary*, and always carried pistols with him; but one good blunderbuss would do as much as ten pistols. He then declared that four friends, John Broderick, Peter Reilly, Patrick Carty, and Ed. Martin, had engaged to join him; on which the committee named seven of their members to deliberate on so important a business, and ordered them to meet at seven o’clock the same evening, when Dunn and his companions were to attend. The customary oath of secrecy was taken by all present, to the number of 17; they then parted, after giving as the new word “ A GOOD ACT.” At seven in the evening the delegated members met, one excepted. The oath of secrecy having been administered to the four friends, they were introduced. Thomas Byrne then said, “ I suppose those are *friends* and *gentlemen*; I suppose we all understand what we are met about?” — “ If they were not,” answered Dunn, “ I would not bring them here.” — “ We know the business we are met about (says Byrne); let us proceed.” Various plans were then proposed for *doing* his Lordship *out*. Dunn repeated his; Byrne would have at least a party of nine mounted; but John Ferral, with sanguinary zeal, insisted that every person present should partake of the foul deed; and his opinion was adopted. Another resolution proposed by Byrne

then passed: "that three at least should go out disguised
 " with loose coats and blunderbusses; and the rest, as
 " yeomen cavalry, to be armed with pistols." The plan
 of execution was, that "those with blunderbusses were to
 " come at the back of the carriage and to fire in; those
 " with the pistols were then to ride on, and fire in at the
 " windows, lest the fire from behind should not have
 " taken effect; and as they passed the *footman* and *postillion*
 " they were also to dispatch them; they were then to re-
 " charge their pieces, ride on in a body towards Dublin,
 " and keep together, so as to secure their retreat." A new
 oath was then taken, "to be staunch and steady, and true
 " to one another in the business." When the book came
 to John Ferral, he enthusiastically exclaimed, "If this
 " business misfires, if provision be made for my family, I
 " will undertake to *do* him in the streets." Several meet-
 ings were afterwards held on the subject; for never
 was a murder more deliberately planned. Money being
 necessary for procuring arms, the chairman of the commit-
 tee applied to the Baronial Secretary, who referred him to
 the Treasurer; and the Sunday after (May 14) James
 Dunn and Patrick Carty were arrested in the Phoenix-
 park. Carty had, together with his father (a Chelsea
 pensioner) been a constant labourer on Lord Carhampton's
 demesne, and had a house rent-free. The day after the
 arrest Lord Carhampton visited Dunn in prison, in the
 hope that he would discover what was become of the
 three other assassins, but he received no satisfactory answer.
 On his Lordship expressing his surprize that the prisoner
 should be capable of so atrocious a deed, the assassin answer-
 ed, that "he thought it was *a good act*; that he had no
 " personal dislike to his Lordship, and would never execute
 " *it alone*, but with his party; that he had never suffered

“ any injury from him ; but that he was sworn to execute it, and if he were out of that (the prison) he would execute it if he could.” As to the murdering the poor innocent postillion, “ it was to do the thing completely.” After this are we to be surprized at the horrid murders that have taken place. Lord Carhampton, some time after the arrest of the son, had an interview with Carty, the father, and told him “ that if his son would give examinations he was inclined to let him do so ; and in that case he thought his life might be saved ; and he desired the father would tell the son so.” “ The father said, he was apprehensive, that if his son gave examinations, *he would be murdered.*” I have dwelt on this example, as it was the subject of a trial, in which the Attorney-General prosecuted for the crown, and four counsel attended on the part of the prisoner, Mr. Curran, Mr. McNally, Mr. Greene, and Mr. Emmett, who had himself been a member of the Executive Directory from January till the beginning of May. Such able counsel and so public a trial will ever stamp this as an authentic document.—(*See Report of the Trials of Carty and Dunn, published by Ridgeway.*)

In June, the captains were informed, that the national committee had been sitting fifteen days ; but, as only 10,000 men of the County of Antrim would rise, the business was retarded. The colonels of the County of Down were unanimous for the rising. In July their hopes were buoyed up by an intimation that 75,000 men were embarked at the Texel for Ireland ; but these were irreparably broken by the immortal Duncan on the 11th of October.

In August they received news, that a number of societies had been *formed in North America*, and that these

had transmitted 211 dollars to their Brethren in Ireland. In October a person, just arrived from Scotland, attended at the county meeting, held at Down Patrick, and "*shewed a Scotch constitution, which was, WORD FOR WORD, the same as the Irish; only that the words NORTH BRITONS were put in the place of IRISHMEN.*" November 14, inquiries were made of the delegates of the Province of Ulster, "whether they thought, that they could disarm the military within themselves; and they all said that they could, except Armagh."—(*Appendix, No. XIV.*) — On the 28th of December, "One constitution was voted to a member, to be given to part of a ship's company lying in Belfast-Lough, for the propagation of the general principle." At the Provincial Meeting for Ulster, held the 1st of February, 1798, it was reported, that "three delegates (of whom the unfortunate Quigley, since executed at Maidstone, was one) had just arrived from France; that the French were going on with the expedition; and that it was in a greater state of forwardness than was expected; but what was most flattering, was, that *three delegates had been sent from the UNITED BRITONS to the Irish National Committee; and that from that very moment they were to consider ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, and IRELAND, as one people acting for one common cause:* There were Legislators now chosen from the three kingdoms to act as an executive for the whole." They were also informed, that Quigley and one Arthur Mac Mahon, of Hollywood, had been the two principal persons who, *during the preceding summer, had opened the communication with the United Britons.* (*Ibid.*) The delegates from England brought an address from the United Britons to the United Irish. In high flown and patriotic language,

guage, the *United Britons* informed their FELLOW MEN, that " various political societies had been instituted for " the purpose of REFORM. — But they had vanished, or " discontinued their exertions. The LONDON CORRESPONDING Society, and other societies in union with it, " had risen upon their ruins." — That England was never without friends to substantial Liberty ; but that the flame of Liberty had been for a long time smothered, " till the " French revolution again fanned its dying embers into " a glow, which, they hoped and trusted, would never be " extinguished. — Our numbers (say they) are immense, " our influence still more considerable, and *our sentiments* " *accord with yours*. We are unthinned by the tyranny " of the law or of the sword—Our delegate is entrusted to " lay before you our proceedings." And they conclude " With best wishes for the amelioration of the condition of " man, and hopes that your exertions and virtues, aided " by an united people, will speedily emancipate your " country: We remain, in bonds of Brotherhood and " Union,

" Yours fraternally."

Friday, Jan. 5, 1798.

(Seal.)

It appears on the evidence of John Hughes (*Lords, No. I.*) a printer of Belfast, that the delegate was a Mr. *Bonham*, who was accompanied by Citizen *Baily* and the *younger Binns*. The latter, who was introduced to Hughes by Quigley, said that he had distributed most of the printed addresses, and desired to have an addition of them printed. Accordingly a thousand were printed, and three guineas paid for them by a person of Belfast.

During this month a regular military committee was appointed by the Executive, " to consider and digest such

“ plans, and direct the military force in such manner, as
 “ might be necessary in case of insurrection; and in case
 “ of invasion to co-operate with the French.”

On the 27th of February it was reported, that the Association had at that time fourteen delegates in France, and that there had *been held in London a meeting of all the delegates of England and Scotland*. In March, the brotherhood of the province of Leinster sustained a considerable shock, by the arrest of some of its leading members; but on the 25th of the same month it appears, that “ the Provincial Committee of Leinster had perfectly re-
 “ covered from the shock; they (the delegates of Leinster)
 “ were only four days from the time they were taken before
 “ they had the whole province in a complete state of orga-
 “ nization; the Government had also taken three of the
 “ Executive, but there were three appointed in their place
 “ the very evening after they were taken.” How truly does this demonstrate Weishaupt’s assertion, that when he once has properly organized his bands, he will bid defiance to all his opponents.

Another principle of that prototype of rebellion had, unfortunately, been too well understood by the founders of the Irish brotherhood, and that was to make themselves masters of the education of youth. Many school-masters (as I have been credibly informed) have shown themselves extremely active in the whole course of this unfortunate affair. The very first man who was tried and executed in Ireland, for swearing-in the deluded Irish *to be true to the French*, was a school-master called Laurence O’Connor. — The following are extracts from his papers, and proved on his trial: “ I, *A. B.* do swear in
 “ the presence of Almighty God, that *I will be true to*
 “ *the present United States of France and Ireland, and*
 “ every

“ *every other Kingdom in Christianity*, without its being hurtful to soul or body, as long as they prove so to me. And that *I will not come as evidence* against any of my brethren or committees, in any court or place whatsoever, excepting in court-martial, under penalty of being excluded, *or death without mercy*— All brothers to live lovingly and harmoniously, and quarrellous to be excluded, as the Committee thinks proper.”

“ These articles are according to the Foreign United States of France and Ireland, by order of our committee of L. G. No. 16.”

A second paper was in these words: “ *The bearer, A. B.* was initiated into our sublime degree of L. L. L. by me C. D.”

There were also found on the prisoner three regular certificates, one of *Free Masons*, a second of *Royal Arch*, and a third of *Knights Templars*, showing that O'Connor was of these Orders. One of the Counsel attempted to explain away the oath, representing it as “ the mere rhapsody of a warm imagination, used to exercise itself on Masonic mysteries ;” he represented to the jury, that “ it would be a cruel verdict indeed that would convict a man of high treason, *merely for using a few cabalistical words and symbols.*” I will venture to affirm, that should the learned counsel ever chance to peruse the *Memoirs of Jacobinism*, he will have a clearer insight into the Cause he had to defend, than when at Naas at the adjournment of the summer assizes in 1795.—(See his Trial.)

What a melancholy scene did the seat of science (I mean the University of Dublin) present, when on the 19th, 20th, and 21st of April, 1798, it appeared on the clearest evidence that a body of United Irishmen had organized themselves within the walls of the College! had consulted

consulted about providing themselves with arms, and had elected officers! Nineteen students were expelled, and some other persons censured. — (*Visitation held by Lord Clare.*)

In the mean time open rebellion continued its progress; and on the 1st of April it is reported to a committee, that a letter had been received "from Bartholomew Teeling" (executed in September 1793, being taken in arms with the French in their invasion at Killala) "who was one of the delegates in France, stating, that the French troops would most certainly be on board by the middle of this month. The troops from Brest and that neighbourhood were determined to try to evade the British fleet, and to land in Ireland; of course the British fleet would follow them; and while thus drawn off, all the other troops embarked at other ports would make a descent on England. Whatever might result from this attempt, it was the fixed determination of the National Committee, in case the French should be frustrated, *that the brotherhood should of themselves make a rising.* The citizens of Dublin, it was supposed, with the assistance of the army, could seize the capital at any moment." Unfortunately, the principles of the Sect had made such a progress, that as early as February the returns declared the numbers of the brotherhood to amount in Ulster to 110,990, in Munster to 100,634, and in Leinster to 68,272; and out of 8,000 military in Dublin alone, it was stated that 3,800 would act against Government. The Executive proceeded to carry their determination into execution. Dublin, Chapelizod, the camp and the government, were to be seized on at one and the same time; and the signal was to be given to the whole country, by the burning of the mail coaches. But, in
order

order to get possession of the camp at Lchaunstown, the Messrs. Sheares applied to Captain Armstrong, who, true to his duty (and happily for his country), laid open the whole of the plan to his commanding officer, at whose express desire he continued to commune with the conspirators. He was questioned by them as to the strong and weak sides of the camp; and a Mr. Lawless (a surgeon), with the natural humanity of the Sect, observed, that "the trees on the right of the camp would be very convenient for hanging people." At length it was agreed, between the Messrs. Sheares (John was a member of the Executive) and Captain Armstrong, that the latter should "erect a standard upon the night to be fixed upon for the attack upon the camp, which was to be joined by all whom he had previously known to be United Irishmen; *that no person was to be spared*; and they were not to be given the option of joining at the time of the attack."

The camp once carried, and Dublin fallen into the hands of the conspirators, we may judge of the use they meant to make of their victory, by the following passages of a proclamation found in the possession of Mr. Henry Sheares, and in the hand-writing of John Sheares, the member of the Executive:

"Irishmen! your country is free, and you are about to be avenged. That vile government, which has so long and so cruelly oppressed you, is no more. Some of *its most atrocious monsters have already paid the forfeit of their lives, and the rest are in our hands.*— Arise then, *United Sons of Ireland!* Rise like a great and powerful people, determined to be free or die!— Arm yourselves *by every means* in your power, and *rush like lions on your foes*— In the cause of Liberty, inaction is cowardice, and the coward *shall forfeit the*
property

“ *property* he has not the courage to protect: let his arms
 “ be seized, and transferred to those gallant spirits who
 “ want and will use them. Yes, Irishmen, we swear by
 “ *that eternal justice*, in whose cause you fight, that the
 “ brave patriot who survives the present glorious struggle,
 “ and the family of him who has fallen or shall fall here-
 “ after in it, shall receive from the hands of a grateful
 “ nation an ample recompense out of that property which
 “ the crimes of our enemies have forfeited into its hands.
 “ *But we likewise swear, to punish robbery with death*
 “ *and infamy!!!*

“ As for those degenerate wretches who turn their
 “ swords against their native country, *the national ven-*
 “ *geance awaits them*: let them find *no quarter*, unless
 “ they shall prove their repentance by *speedily desert-*
 “ *ing.*—&c. &c.

“ Many military feel the love of liberty glow within
 “ their breasts, and have joined the national standard.
 “ Receive with open arms such as shall follow so glorious
 “ an example. But for the wretch who turns his sword
 “ against his native country, *let the national vengeance*
 “ *be visited on him, let him find no quarter.*”—(*Trial of*
Meffrs. Sheaves.)

The foregoing is more than sufficient to show the na-
 ture of this association. My object has not been to write
 the history of the late rebellion, but merely to show that
 its *object*, *end*, and *means*, were entirely similar to that of
 the infernal Sects described in the Memoirs that have just
 been laid before the English reader. May my countrymen
 profit of this awful example in Ireland, and guard against
 the insidious progress of that Sect in Great Britain !

GREAT BRITAIN.

WHEN we turn our eyes toward Great Britain, associations of a similar tendency appear; under a great diversity of names indeed, but all actuated by a similar spirit. Their first object was, to captivate the minds of the people by means of "lectures delivered on political subjects, calculated by their very extravagance to catch the attention of the audience; and in the course of them every topic was employed that could inflame their minds, alienate them from the laws and constitution of their country, and habituate them to principles of sedition and rebellion. The most violent publications to the same effect were secretly but generally circulated in hand-bills, both in the metropolis and in the remote parts of the country. Every point that could excite discontent, according to the pursuits, interests, or prejudices, of different classes, has been successively dwelt on, and always in such a manner as to connect it with the leading design. The attempt to accomplish this End has appeared in the shape even of play-bills and songs; seditious toasts, and a studied selection of the tunes which have been most in use in France since the Revolution, have been applied to the same purpose, of endeavouring to render deliberate incitements to every species of treason familiar to the minds of the people."— (*Eng. 2d Report*, p. 20.) — "In the same manner (say the conspirators) *that a farmer may be roused by the mention of tithes, the shoemakers may by the excessive dearness of leather, the inn-keeper by the numerous and unnecessary standing army, and ALL by a temperate and dispassionate relation of the immense number of si-*

"necesse

“ *secure places and useless offices, in which the corrupt*
 “ *and prostitute favourites, agents, &c. of the Rich and*
 “ *Great riot in the spoils and plunder wrested from the*
 “ *husbandman, mechanic, &c.—(Ap. C. p. 28.)*

The association that took the lead was, THE SOCIETY FOR CONSTITUTIONAL INFORMATION, which on the 23d of March, 1791, voted thanks to Thomas Paine for his work on the Rights of Man.—(*Ibid.* 21.) Other societies, such as those of Sheffield, Manchester, &c. passed similar votes, for his having demonstrated *the rights of man* in a manner *so clear and convincing*. In May, 1792, this society resolved, that a communication should be opened with the *Jacobin Club of Paris*; and an address to that club was transmitted, signed by the chairman. An address was also voted to the National Convention on the 9th of November, 1792, in consequence of the attack of the 10th of August on the French Monarch, styling the Convention “ *servants of the sovereign people, and be-*
 “ *nefactors of mankind. The benefits (they say) will in*
 “ *part be ours, but the glory will be all your own; and*
 “ *it is the reward of your perseverance; it is the prize*
 “ *of virtue.*”—(*Ibid.* 24.)

Another association, calling itself THE LONDON CORRESPONDING SOCIETY, was instituted in January, 1792. It immediately formed a close connection with the Society for Constitutional Information; on the 12th October, 1792, it framed an address to the French Convention; the deputies who presented it, “ *after pointing out their wishes*
 “ *to effect in this country a revolution similar to that*
 “ *made in France, consider the example of France as*
 “ *having made revolutions easy; adding, that it would not*
 “ *be extraordinary, if in a short space of time the French*
 “ *should send addresses of congratulation to a National Con-*
 “ *vention*

"*vention of England* ; and the president in his answer says, "*the moment*, without doubt, approaches when the French "will bring congratulations to the *National Convention of Great Britain.*" — (*Ibid.* 25.) The fraternal embrace and the honours of the sitting were the natural recompense of such patriotic declamation. The sanguinary *Barriere*, *St. André*, and the insolent *Roland*, were declared honorary members, and the speeches of the two former on the trial of *Louis XVI.* were entered on the books of the society.

Various societies were now formed in different parts of England, all corresponding with those in London, as their centre. Reform in parliament, universal suffrage, and annual elections, were the objects held out to the over-credulous. Soon we find the *London Society for CONSTITUTIONAL INFORMATION* and the *London CORRESPONDING SOCIETY* in close connection with, and actually directing, similar societies at *HERTFORD* ; at *CAMBRIDGE* ; in *NORFOLK*, at *Norwich* ; at *LEICESTER* ; in *WARWICKSHIRE*, at *Coventry* and *Birmingham* ; at *NOTTINGHAM* ; in *DERBYSHIRE* at *Derby* and *Belper* ; in *CHESHIRE*, at *Stockport* ; in *LANCASHIRE*, at *Liverpool* and *Manchester* ; in *YORKSHIRE*, in the *West-Riding*, at *Sheffield*, *Leeds*, *Bradford*, *Hallifax*, *Huddersfield*, and *Wakefield* ; in *NORTHUMBERLAND*, at *Newcastle upon Tyne*, &c. Associations were also formed at *BRISTOL*. With respect to *SCOTLAND*, *Edinburgh* appears to have been the central point for that country, corresponding with London. In the interior of Scotland, and under its direction, we find many towns, such as *Leith*, *Dundee*, *Perth*, *Stirling*, *Kilgobbin*, *Kerkintalloch*, *Glasgow* (which also corresponded with London) *Paisley*, *Strathaven*, *Dalkeith*, &c. The same rules of proceeding, and for subdividing

dividing the societies, are to be traced again. But nothing can better illustrate the nature of these associations than that of Sheffield.

This association, they tell us (Appendix D.) themselves, "originated in an assembly of *five or six mechanics, who* "by their meeting at some one of their houses, *and conversing about the enormous high price of provisions*; the "gross abuses this nation labours under from the "unbounded authority of the *Monopolisers* of all ranks, *from* "the KING to the PEASANT; the waste and lavish of the "public property by placemen, pensioners, luxury, and "debauchery, sources of the greivous burthens under "which the nation groans; together with the mock representation of the people; — these being the subjects "of their conversation, *they concluded*, that nothing but "DARKNESS and IGNORANCE *in the people* could suffer "the rights of every freeman *to be* **THUS violated.**" They then invited their neighbours to deliberate on this patriotic discovery; they reprinted an edition of 1600 copies of *Paine's Rights of Man*, and sold it at sixpence, to enlighten their fellow-countrymen. They style themselves the Society for Constitutional Information, write up to London, on the 15th of January, 1792, to request the favour "of forming a connection with all the like "societies in England, and especially with those or some "of them in London, the Thatched-house, the London-tavern, or others, and humbly solicit their advice and "assistance in the accomplishing thereof, *in order to form* "our resolves *similar to theirs*; because, as we are actuated by the *SAME cause and principle*, and all our interests being *one*, *our sentiments ought and must be the same.*" In about four months after, they inform the London Society, that "not only their large and populous "town,

" town, but *the whole neighbourhood* for many miles round
 " about, have an attentive eye upon them ; and that most
 " of the towns and villages were forming themselves into
 " *similar associations, strictly copying after us.*" They
 also declare their object to be, " a RADICAL REFORM of
 " *the Country* as soon as *prudence and discretion* would
 " permit, and established on that system which is consis-
 " tent with the *rights of man.*" They request that cer-
 tain members of their association may be admitted to the
 London meeting, which now becomes the regulating com-
 mittee, that " a more close connection might be formed
 " and communication be maintained," for the extension of
 " useful knowledge from *town to village*, and from village
 " to town, until the whole nation be sufficiently *enligh-*
 " *tened and united in the same cause*, which cannot fail of
 " being the case wherever the most excellent works of
 " Thomas Paine find reception." Should any person
 wish to be convinced, that all these, as well as the Irish
 societies, were formed on Weisshaupt's corresponding scale,
 let him attend to the improvement which the Sheffield
 people were about to adopt at the end of the 4th month,
 and after this offspring of the discontented mechanics had
 corresponded with London: " It is certainly (they say)
 " the best way of managing large bodies, as in great and
 " populous towns; viz. dividing them into small bodies
 " or meetings of ten persons each, and those ten to ap-
 " point a delegate. Ten of these delegates form another
 " meeting, and so on, delegating from one to another,
 " till at last they are reduced to a proper number for con-
 " stituting the *Committee* or GRAND COUNCIL." After
 this, it is really useless to trouble my reader with any
 thing more on the nature or principles of the societies of
 Great Britain. We find subscriptions carried on for the

defence of the prosecution commenced against Thomas Paine. The Scotch Societies agree with those of England to hold a Convention, which, though not general from England, met in October, 1793. — (Appendix F.) — A letter was there read from the four united societies of Ireland. Citizens *Hamilton Rowan* and *Simon Butler* attended from Dublin, but *were not delegated*; however, the latter made a report to the convention on the state of Ireland. *Margaret*, a London delegate, said, “The societies in London are very numerous, though somewhat fluctuating. In some parts of England whole towns are reformers; Sheffield and its environs have 50,000. — In Norwich there are 30 societies in one. — If we could get a convention of England and Scotland called, we might represent *six or seven hundred thousand males*, which is a majority of all the adults in the kingdom; and ministry would not dare to refuse us our rights.” They had held *fourteen* sittings, when the magistrates thought proper to put a stop to it and arrest some of the members; others aped the conduct of the *tiers etat* at Versailles, when ordered to disperse, and adjourned from place to place; happily, however, they did not succeed. All their forms, and even their modes of speech, were servilely copied from the French. After the numerous adherents that they had seduced, it is natural to think that the teachers of the Sect thought it *time to bind the monsters* who dared oppose them; to effectuate this, pikes were forged in different parts of Great Britain. “A plan (writes the secretary of the Sheffield society, in April, 1794) has been formed for carrying into effect this necessary business (of arming). Pike-blades are made with hoops for the shafts to fit the top ends; the bottom end of the shafts should be about an inch thick — er, and fir is recommended for the shafts, selected by

" persons who are judges of wood. The blades and
 " hoops will be sold at the rate of one shilling, properly
 " tempered and polished. The money sent with the or-
 " ders." — (2d Report, p. 2.) — *The secretary of the*
Corresponding Society gave directions where the pikes
might be procured (page 5); those who could procure
 muskets learned the use of them, exercising by candle-light,
 or under pretext of loyal associations; that which assumed
 the name of Loyal Lambeth would admit none but those
 who were members of the Corresponding Society, or who
 promised to become so; nor had this armed association
 been authorized by government. Meanwhile Scotland had
 made such progress, that the brethren there not only began to
 arm with pikes, but also turned their minds towards acting!
 The plot was fortunately discovered. A sheriff's officer
 went to search the house of a *Mr. Watt*, for some goods
 which were supposed to have been secreted, as belonging
 to a bankrupt of the name of *Nielson*, and who has since
 commenced preacher in England. In this search he found
 some pikes; and in a second (made in the same week, on
 the 15th of May, 1794) many more were discovered in
 a closet. This gave rise to inquiries, and it was found
 that no less than 4000 pikes had been ordered for Perth,
 beside those wanted for Edinburgh. It was farther disco-
 vered, that this *Watt* was a member of the *Committee of*
Ways and Means delegated from the remnants of the
 convention; that he had in this committee read a plan
 " For seizing on the Lord Justice Clerk, the Lords of
 " Session, and the Lord Provost. A fire was to be light-
 " ed at the Excise, and when the soldiers were coming
 " down the people were to fall on them and seize the
 " Banks." As soon as this had succeeded, a proclama-
 tion was to be issued, " Desiring all farmers not to remove

“ their grain under pain of death, and all gentlemen not
 “ to go three miles from their houses.” This *grand plan* was communicated to the Societies by means of travelling adepts, who had a certificate authorizing them to call at the Societies. It was not signed, but seals were attached to the commission. The plan executed, and the “ *Aristocrats seized*,” couriers were to be sent to the country with the news. In *Watt’s* house were also found the types of the hand-bill contained in Appendix A. No. 1. and dated Dundee, April 12, 1794, which was distributed among the Fencibles, to stir them up to revolt. The manner of distributing them is worthy of remark, as being *common to England* as well as to Scotland. *Downie*, who was also a member of the Committee of Ways and Means, and who was convicted with *Watt*, after giving some to a person who was to distribute them, “ desired
 “ him to throw the parcel on the floor ; and if any body
 “ asked him where he got it, he might say he found it.” A short time after, these hand-bills found their way to the soldiers in garrison at Dalkeith. — (*See the Trials of Watt and Downie, in August and September, 1794.*)

On the 12th of April, 1797, England witnessed the awful sight of its fleet in open insurrection. Here, as on land, we find oaths of secrecy and of union, delegates, and accord of system pervading the whole mutiny. At Portsmouth it was happily quelled, in a great degree, by the 20th of April; some straggling ships would indeed show symptoms of revolt, from time to time, both there and at Plymouth: at length the great mutiny at the *Nore* broke out on the 12th of May, and was not suppressed till the month of June. Many of the mutineers were brought to trial; and Parker, their leader, was hanged on the 30th of June. No authentic document appeared on these trials,
 6
 indeed,

indeed, that could connect this mutiny with the secret societies on land; but, if we look to dates, it will be evident that the *Corresponding Society* did not view this insurrection of the fleet with an indifferent eye. I here allude to the papers that appeared on the trial of a man of the name of *Fellowes*, who had been a journeyman carpenter before he took to the *patriotic line*; he was tried at Maidstone on the 13th of March, 1798 (his trial having been deferred at his own request) and sentenced to two years imprisonment. The account of the transaction given by the prisoner, as appeared in evidence, is as follows: "That he lodged at a Mr. Wratten's house in Maidstone; that a parcel came there on the 18th of May, 1797 (the fleet in full mutiny) directed to Mr. Wratten, by a Charing-cross coach. The wife opened the parcel; and, as Mr. Wratten was from home, he (*Fellowes*) told the wife, that the papers it contained belonged to one of the societies; there was to be a meeting, he told her, on that night at the *Rose and Crown*; that he would carry them there, and take the sense of the meeting. He accordingly did so; read one of them, and none of the society made any objection. *He then laid them on the table*, and the members of the society *helped themselves as they thought proper*" (or, perhaps, *found them*, as was the case with the hand-bills in Scotland). Some of the bills were carried from this meeting to another division of the society, sitting at the *Castle Inn*, under the pretence of knowing whether they were legal; but, whether legal or not, they were distributed before morning among the soldiers then at Maidstone. The paper began thus:—"To the British Army:—Comrades, are we not men? Is it not high time we should prove we know ourselves to

“ be such? Are we any where respected as men, and
 “ why are we not? Have not wrong notions of disci-
 “ pline led us to our present despised condition? Is there
 “ a man among us who does not wish to defend his
 “ country, and who would not willingly do it without
 “ being subject to the insolence and cruelty of effeminate
 “ puppies? *Were not THE SAILORS* (at that time in
 “ full insurrection), *like us, mocked for want of thought,*
 “ though not so much despised for poverty as we are?
 “ *Have they not proved that they CAN THINK and ACT*
 “ *for themselves,* and preserve every useful point of dis-
 “ cipline full as well, *or better than when under the*
 “ *tyranny of their officers?*” Then comes a heap of de-
 clamation against the officers, against Parliament, against
 barracks (a terrible grievance, as it guards the soldiers
 from falling an easy prey to the discontented), and on the
 system of clothing; the Address then proceeds: “ These
 “ are a few of our grievances, and but a few; what shall
 “ we do? The tyranny of what is falsely called discipline
 “ *prevents us from acting like other men.* We cannot
 “ even give in a petition for that which common honesty
 “ would freely have given us long ago. We have *only*
 “ *two choices,* either to submit to the present impositions,
 “ *or demand the treatment proper for men. The power is*
 “ *all our own.* The *regiments* which send you this are
 “ willing to do their part.” (Can the Corresponding So-
 ciety here denominate themselves regiments, in conse-
 quence of their pike-business?) “ They can show their
 “ countrymen *they can be soldiers without being slaves,*
 “ and will make their demands *as soon as they know you*
 “ *will NOT DRAW THE TRIGGER AGAINST THEM.*
 “ Of this we will judge when we know you have dis-
 “ tributed this bill, not only among your comrades, but

“ to every soldier whom you know IN EVERY PART of the country—Be sober—Be ready.” The whole of this trial took place in presence of several of the members of the Corresponding Society of Maidstone; and after the sentence of two years imprisonment was passed on Fellowes, and that he was taking from the bar, some of his friends consoled him by saying, “ Two years ! that is a long while ; but Buonaparte will be here before that.” However, this vapouring Cameleon is little to be dreaded by Britons.

Hand-bills of the same nature were dispersed among the army in other parts, and particularly in London ; but, like true foldiers, they only answered by offering rewards (collected from their pay) for the discovery of the miscreants who had conceived so mean an opinion of them as to think they could be seduced from their duty. A parcel of hand-bills, in the very terms here mentioned, was thrown into the stables of the Second Regiment of Horse Guards, between the hours of one and three in the morning, but was treated with the contempt it deserved. The distribution of such hand-bills, and the proof adduced at Maidstone, will cause much less surprize, when it is known, that “ the design of endeavouring to seduce the army from their duty had been the frequent subject of conversation among some members of the Corresponding Society ; it even appears, that a project was repeatedly agitated among them, of striking a sudden blow, and beginning by securing the Royal Family and the Members of both Houses of Parliament, with the hope (as it was expressed) *that the army, being without leaders, would no longer oppose their attempts.*” — (2d Report, p. 17.)

The Irish system was now fully adopted in Scotland; as on the 21st October, 1797, a person just arrived from Scotland brought a Scotch Constitution to a County Meeting at Down Patrick, " which was *word for word* " the same as that of the Irish, only the words *United* " NORTH-BRITONS were substituted for *United IRISH-* " MEN."—(*Irish Appendix, No. XIV.*)—And on the 5th of January, 1798, *The United Britons* send the address already mentioned in the account of Ireland, declaring that " *The Society of the Friends of the People and that* " *for Constitutional Information* had discontinued their " exertions; that the *London Corresponding Society*, and " other societies *in union* with it, had arisen upon their " ruins." — (*Ibid.*) — The delegates who carried it informed the National Committee of Ireland, that " Eng- " land, Scotland, and Ireland, were in future to be con- " sidered as one people, acting for one common cause; " that *legislators were now chosen from the three king-* " *doms, to act as an Executive for THE WHOLE.*"—

Whither does this information naturally lead us? Surely to that paper which gave rise to the famous trial at Maidstone of Quigley, Binns, O'Connor, &c.? It began thus: " *The Secret Committee of England to the Exe-* " *cutive Directory of France* — Health and Fraternity— " the 6th of Pluviose (or January 25, exactly twenty days " after the address to Ireland). CITIZEN DIRECTORS— " we are called together, on the wing of the moment, to " communicate to you our sentiments; the citizen who " now presents them to you, and who was the bearer of " them before, having but a few hours to remain in town, " expect not a laboured address from us; but plainness is " the great characteristic of republicans.

" Affairs

“ Affairs are now drawing to a *great and awful crisis* ;
 “ tyranny, shaken to its basis, seems about to be buried
 “ in its own ruins. *With the tyranny of England* that of
 “ all Europe must fall. Haste then, Great Nation, *pour*
 “ *forth thy gigantic force ! Let the base despot* feel thine
 “ avenging stroke, and let one oppressed nation carol forth
 “ the praises of France at the altar of liberty.

“ We saw with rapture *your proclamations* ; they met
 “ our warmest wishes, and removed doubts from the minds
 “ of millions. Go on ! *Englishmen will be ready to second*
 “ *your efforts !!!* ” What spurious breed of Englishmen
 are these ? What race of Englishmen have suffered them-
 selves to be led away by such base-born cowards ? Is it in
 the life-time of a Howe, a Hood, a Bridport, a St. Vin-
 cent, a Duncan, or a Nelson, that they dare invite these
 enemies of the human race to come and pillage this flou-
 rishing country ? Are the *fans culottes* then to lord it in
 London streets, bearing on pikes in sanguinary triumph
 the heads of the best men of England, with the hideous
 yells of *Equality* and *Liberty* ? Vainly shall such syco-
 phants, in the hope of partaking of the general pillage
 and of despoiling their fellow-countrymen (for, from the
king to the peasant, ALL are declared *monopolizers*) spread
 the terror of French arms and the impossibility of resist-
 ing them. No ; far from us be such teachers and such
 leaders, who only beguile the unheedy to lead them to
 beggary, wretchedness, or the gallows. ENGLISHMEN
 are *loyal*, *manly*, and *brave* ; and when once they shall
 have unmasked these insidious brethren, they need never
 doubt of victory. But to return to the address : — The
 nation is represented to be on the eve of bankruptcy ; as
 making great progress in democracy ; and as placing little

confidence in the leaders of opposition (at least such was the explanation of that passage given by the Counsel for Mr. O'Connor). It then proceeds:—

“ Already have the English fraternized with the Irish
 “ and the Scots; *and a delegate FROM EACH now sits*
 “ with us. The sacred flame of liberty is rekindled, *the*
 “ *holy obligation OF BROTHERHOOD is received with en-*
 “ *thusiasm. Even IN THE FLEETS and Armies it makes*
 “ *some progress. DISAFFECTION prevails in both, and*
 “ United Britain burns to break her chains.”

I had forgotten to speak of a circumstance relating to the fleets. Englishmen have viewed with horror the scene of the *Hermione* frigate, whose crew rose on their officers, murdered them, and carried the ship into an enemy's port. They have seen many other plots laid (but fortunately discovered) to murder the officers and give up the ships to the enemy. Looking back to the oath administered to the military in Ireland, “ to be true to the French,” and the plans agreed upon “ to murder their officers and deliver the arms up to the towns-people,” the reader will not be so much at a loss to judge whence such atrocious plots could arise, or what *the progress of the BROTHERHOOD in the fleets* can mean. God forbid, that I should mention this with any idea of reproach to those gallant men who have since so gloriously obliterated every stain that could have attached to their conduct during the mutiny. They saw with regret that they had fallen victims to seduction, and they gloriously revenged themselves on the enemies of their country. They have counteracted the atrocious plans of the conspiring Brotherhood; and when I mentioned the mutiny, it was only to remind them, that *crafty seducers* could *perchance* surprize their natural honesty.

It continues: " United as we are, we only wait with
 " impatience to see the Hero of Italy, and the brave
 " veterans of the Great Nation. Myriads will hail their
 " arrival with shouts of joy; they will soon finish the
 " glorious campaign! *Tyranny will vanish from the*
 " *face of the earth, and, crowned with laurels, the in-*
 " *vincible army of France will return to its native*
 " *country, there long to enjoy the well-earned praise of*
 " *a grateful world, whose freedom they have purchased*
 " *with their blood.*" (L. S.)

Did sycophants ever beg more earnestly for the plunder and devastation of their fellow-countrymen; for they could no longer plead ignorance of the views of the French? Colonel Tate had made his descent on the coast of Wales the 22d of February, 1797, and his instructions, signed by Hoche, * the faithless conqueror of Quiberon, ordered him " to execute a *coup de main* on
 " Bristol;" for its destruction was " of the very last
 " importance, and every possible effort should be made to
 " accomplish it," on account of its riches and commerce.

* These instructions were much cavilled at by those papers that are ever sounding the praises of the French Revolution; and even so late as the 31st of October, 1798, the *COURIER* boldly declares them to be a clumsy fabrication of the ministerial writers. The English nation at large should know that those instructions were never doubted of by any well informed person, from the first seizure of them by Lord Cawdor in Feb. 1797; that they were deposited at the Secretary of State's office; that they are alluded to in the report made the 9th of May, 1798, by the House of Commons *On the treatment of prisoners of war*, and are published in the Appendix (*A. No. XC.*) to that report. When the reader is informed that an office is established, *Rue du Bac*, for the delivery of the *COURIER* at Paris, that it is strongly recommended by a creature of the Directory, in one of their periodical papers, while all other English papers, *but one*, are proscribed, his surprize will cease, as it is natural to expect that some return must be made to the Directory by the editor of this paper for so marked a favour, though it were at the expence of truth.

The troops were to be landed by night “ within five
 “ miles of the town, in the greatest silence, and, being
 “ supplied with combustible matter, were to advance rapidly in the dark, on that side of Bristol which might
 “ be to windward, and immediately set fire to that quarter. If the enterprize be conducted (they say) with
 “ dexterity, it cannot fail to produce the *total ruin* of
 “ the town, the port, the docks, and the vessels, and to
 “ strike terror and amazement into the very heart of the
 “ capital of England.” Let the Inhabitants of Bristol now call on those insidious brethren who dare commune with them, and ask them, Whether they also approve of this invitation of the brotherhood to the French, as they
 “ *applauded and approved the resolution of forming another general convention* ” on the 24th of April 1794, after the dispersion of the Scotch Convention in December 1793. After reading Hoche’s Instructions, will they write again to the London Corresponding Society — “ we
 “ read — we blushed — we took courage — we did more ;
 “ for we resolved on re-assembling.” If so they do, it is to be hoped that they will do it for the purpose of making public atonement to their fellow-townsmen for their past conduct ; for they can no longer say “ *’tis a noble—’tis a virtuous — ’tis a god-like and immortal cause* — in
 “ which we are now mutually embarked.” — (Appendix H.)

The instructions proceed : “ The expedition under
 “ Colonel Tate has in view three principal objects ; the
 “ first is, if possible, to raise an insurrection in the country ; the second is, *to interrupt and embarrass the commerce of the enemy* ; and the third, to prepare and
 “ facilitate the way for a descent, by distracting the attention of the English government.

“ In all countries the poor are the class most prone to insurrection; and this disposition is to be cherished by distributing money and drink; by INVEIGHING against the government, AS THE CAUSE OF THE PUBLIC DISTRESS; by recommending and facilitating a rising, to plunder the public stores and magazines, and the property of the rich, whose affluence is the natural subject of envy to the poor.” By such means “ numbers of artizans and workmen, of vagabonds and idlers, and even malefactors,” were to be attracted and “ formed into new companies under the command of French officers.”

“ The commerce of the enemy in the country is to be interrupted by breaking down bridges, cutting off dykes, and ruining causeways, which is, at the same time, essentially necessary for the preservation of the army; by plundering all convoys of subsistence, the public stages and waggons, and even private carriages; the cutting off the supplies of provisions from the principal towns, burning all vessels and boats in the rivers and canals, destroying magazines, setting fire to docks and coal-yards, rope-walks, great manufactories, &c. &c. It is to be observed likewise, that *by these means a crowd of artizans will be thrown out of employ*, and of course be ready to embark in any measure which holds out to them subsistence and plunder without labour or fatigue.”

To be sure, the poor, the workmen, and artizans, are here held out as a most profligate race; but Hoche, it is to be remembered, speaks from the example of France, where the destruction of manufacturing towns was looked upon as a means of recruiting the Jacobin ranks. Secret societies had prepared them for such horrid deeds in France; and Sheffield, Birmingham, and Manchester, appear to have

have been the first objects of the *patriotic* labours of the secret societies in England.

“ Subsistence is to be seized wherever it can be found;
 “ if any town or village refuse to supply it at the moment,
 “ *it is to be given up to immediate pillage*; your soldiers
 “ are to carry with them nothing but their arms: *they*
 “ *will find every where clothes, linen, and shoes*; the
 “ inhabitants *must supply your wants*, and the seats of the
 “ gentry are to be your magazines. Wherever the legion,
 “ or any of its columns, is posted, if the neighbouring
 “ parishes *do not give instant notice of the approach of the*
 “ *enemy by ringing bells, or otherwise, they are to be*
 “ *given up* TO FIRE AND SWORD.

“ With boldness and intelligence combined, you may
 “ easily possess yourself of *Chester or Liverpool*, which
 “ you will ruin *by burning the magazines, and filling up*
 “ *the ports*, or at least you will cut off all communication
 “ between those cities and the interior. — In order to
 “ spread the consternation and astonishment as widely as
 “ possible, after the destruction of Liverpool, (*for this*
 “ *point is capital*,) you must follow your blow, and seize
 “ upon some small town or sea-port on that coast, which
 “ you will lay under contribution.” Was it (I would
 ask) to prepare the town of Liverpool for such a fate that
 so early as 1792 some of its inhabitants entered into a direct
 correspondence with the London societies that were at that
 time addressing the Jacobins of Paris and *hailing them as*
brothers? Did they then conceive, that within the space
 of six years an address would be sent to invite those Jaco-
 bins into England, bearing such instructions as are now
 laid before the reader?—During this time Hoche, in per-
 son, was supposed to be in Ireland; and my reader may
 easily conceive, by these instructions, the horrors that he
 would

would have committed himself, had he succeeded in his attempt at Bantry-Bay. Two other French parties were to have been acting in concert with Tate, in all probability with similar instructions, in Yorkshire, Durham, and Northumberland; and without doubt these parties, if successful, would have as *radically reformed* the constitution as could have been desired by that association at *Newcastle-upon-Tyne*, which wrote, on the 24th of April, 1794, to inform the London Corresponding Society how *cunningly* they met every week, “admitting none *but known friends*,” and assuming no name *but that of* NEWSPAPER-COM-PANIES.” News indeed! their town burnt, their port destroyed — Great news — bloody news for the FRIENDS. Should they, however, not have been the first object of the rapacity of the implacable enemy, and, learning by the example of Bristol, have conceived hopes of preserving their town, by petitioning his Majesty for a military force, would they (I make bold to ask) patriotically finish their petition, by “Farewell, *hoping the* HYDRA OF “TYRANNY AND IMPOSITION *shall soon fall under the* “GUILLOTINE OF TRUTH AND REASON!!” Let them learn before it is too late.—(*Appendix H*, p. 121.)

In February last, the united British were swearing-in proselytes in the Borough; and these seducers would have continued their seditious practices, had they not been put to flight by the magistrates of Union-hall; and John Cormick, in his declaration of July, 1798, stated, that “he knows there is an agent for the United British resident in Paris, and that there are agents both for the “United British and Irish resident at Hamburg.”—(*Irish Ap. No. XXXII.*)—Thus are we led to July, 1798, by authentic documents, which will be more than enough to convince the most obstinate sceptick, that this conspiring

Sec^d

Sect is ever active and vigilant to betray its countrymen into the hands of the most implacable of enemies.

Would to God that every Englishman would reflect on the proceedings of Secret Societies! how clearly might he perceive their twofold object — of overturning a constitution that has led England to the summit of glory and prosperity; and of erecting a power, on bloodshed, rapine, and the neglect of every social duty. On the one side, we see the Rights of man, Equality and Liberty, set forth by these insidious teachers, to prove to the industrious labourer and unwary artizan, that it is a breach of their rights to see the inhabitants of the earth distinguished into classes subordinate to different ranks and subject to Superiors; that were these distinctions of *monopolizers* once broken, the people would then be repossessed of their imprescriptible rights; that tyrannical laws would no longer repress the glorious zeal for the welfare of mankind, and despotically condemn those *real patriots*, the friends of man and the defenders of their rights. The existing governments are represented as an infringement of the rights of the people; the magistrates and military as agents of despotism; the clergy as impostors. On the other side, to establish the rebellious power of the Secret Societies, any number of persons being rendered discontented by hearing the perpetual declamations of these *political libertines*, an oath of secrecy and union is tendered to them; their curiosity and enthusiasm is next worked upon by the hopes of secrets of high importance; they make proselytes; their assemblies soon become too numerous; it is hinted that it would be dangerous, under the existing circumstances, to meet in such numbers; it is proposed and agreed that they should divide, *by tens* for example; that, in order to establish a sort of subordination, each

society

society should choose a delegate; then the ten delegates depute one of theirs to a higher degree; so from degree to degree we rise to the *Grand and Regulating Committee*. One would think they had forgotten their declamations against rank and Superiors. The least breach of secrecy is to be punished by poison or the dagger. Disobedience is severely punished; and when we look to the Jacobin oath we find that neither *Father, Mother, Friend, Relation*, nor even *Mistress*, are to be spared, when the good of the cause is in question. Is it that a few rebels, styling themselves a Secret Committee, may in conjunction with the most inveterate enemies of these kingdoms plunder and despoil their fellow-countrymen, that Englishmen will hearken to these seducers? Shall a few frantic Jacobins, because they are arrived at the summit of the pyramid, there to receive the loathsome fumes of blasphemy and rebellion, lord it over a nation that can boast of a Sovereign whose virtues and paternal affection have rather made him the father than the ruler of the nation; — of a House of Lords, described even by the Jacobin Lacroix, “as precious to the nation, because it is a rampart of its liberties,” — of a House of Commons ever watchful of the real rights of the people, in spite of the declamations of the Brotherhood to represent it as the contrary; * over a nation

* Few people would suspect, that the debates in Parliament could ever be converted into a tool for the propagation of the views of the Corresponding Society. The following letter, however, will show how carefully our ancestors had foreseen every danger, when they ordained that the debates should not be published; it will also serve to explain the violence of many, on the occasion of the recent clearing of the galleries and bar during certain debates of high and ticklish importance, such, for example, as the Irish business. This letter from the London Corresponding Society (Appendix E. March 4, 1793) is written to a society at Sheffield: “With regard to petitioning Parliament, we are unanimous in the opi-

nation, in short, that can boast of Laws which, formed by the mutual consent of King, Lords, and Commons, have led it to unparalleled glory, prosperity, and riches? Is it to men who have been seated on juries, who have attended the public courts of justice, that these seducers shall hold forth on the mal-administration of justice? Shall a loyal army and victorious navy be represented as the agents of despotism and tyranny, because they will not murder their officers and desert to the enemy? — No, Englishmen; such efforts shall ever meet with the contempt they deserve; union, honesty, and loyalty, shall lead us to victory; and, ever mindful of our duties to God and man, we may bid defiance to the malignity of our internal, and the rapacity of our external foes.

So be it!

“ nion, that such a petition will not produce a reform; yet, from many
 “ considerations, we are now persuaded, that if every society in the island
 “ would send forward a petition, we should ultimately gain ground; for as
 “ much as it will force the present members of the senate repeatedly to discuss
 “ the subject; and their deliberations, printed in the different newspapers, will
 “ most naturally awaken the public mind towards the object of our pursuit;
 “ the nation once informed that a reform in parliament is sought for from
 “ different quarters, gives rise to debates in the House of Commons, and
 “ is acknowledged by every rank to be wanting, will begin to exert its
 “ own reason on the subject (probably, as we have seen the five or six me-
 “ chanics of Sheffield doing). “ Arrived at that period, we presume that
 “ our business will be nearly accomplished.”